

IBN SĪNĀ'S INFLUENCE ON AL-GHAZĀLĪ'S NON-PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS

BY

BINYAMIN ABRAHAMOV

I. It is well known that al-Ghazālī refers to Ibn Sīnā's philosophy either as a source of his résumé of the doctrines of the philosophers¹ or as an object of refutation.² However, as some scholars have proved, he was influenced by the very philosophy he summed up and criticized. That Greek philosophy has exerted an influence on al-Ghazālī is attested in the works of later Muslim doctors and demonstrated by modern scholars.³ Badawi states that al-Ghazālī did not succeed in avoiding the impression of the philosophers in spite of his attempts.⁴ First, Badawi shows that al-Ghazālī used John Philoponus' arguments in refuting the notion of the eternity of the world.⁵ Second, he finds that a work dealing with the censure of the soul ascribed to Hermes is in rapport with al-Ghazālī's chapter *tawbīḥ al-nafs wa-mu'ātabatuhā* in *Ihyā'*. Al-Ghazālī, however, shaped Hermes' teaching in Islamic form.⁶ Third, Badawi (pp. 229-234) shows parallels between Plotinus' Enneads and al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt* chiefly concerning the latter's chapter "On the explanation that the true

¹ See *Maqāṣid*. This work is almost identical with the Arabic translation of Ibn Sīnā's *Dānishnāmah*. S.H. Nasr, "The Persian Works of Shaykh Al-Ishrāq Shihāb Al-Dīn Suhrawardī," *MW* 12 (1968), pp. 3-8, quoted by P. Morewedge, *The Metaphysics of Avicenna*, London 1973, p. 293.

² See *Tabāfut*. Al-Ghazālī's criticism does not always cover every facet of Ibn Sīnā's arguments. M.E. Marmura, "Ghazālī and the Avicennan Proof from Personal Identity for an Immaterial Self," in *A Straight Path, Studies in Medieval Philosophy and Culture*, Essays in Honor of Arthur Hyman, eds. R. Link-Salinger and others, Washington D.C., pp. 195-205.

³ Badawī, p. 221.

⁴ Ibid. This is not the place to discuss Badawī's last note, although my impression is that al-Ghazālī never tried to escape philosophy. He intentionally used philosophy, attempting from time to time to conceal philosophical notions through contradictions, ambiguities and Islamic terms.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 223-225.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 225-229, 234. Cf. A.E. Affī, "The Influence of Hermetic Literature on Muslim Thought," *BEOAS* 13 (1949-1951) 845-847. Another form of islamization of philosophical terms, namely, the tracing of their source back to the Qur'an, was done by al-Ghazālī in *Qisṭās*.

light is God". S. van den Bergh proves that some of al-Ghazālī's notions, which occur in *K. al-shukr*, concerning gratitude towards God and God's providential care for man, are derived from Greek, mainly Stoic, sources.⁷

In a recently published article, Gil'adi proves that al-Ghazālī "employs the Aristotelian classification of the sciences not only in his philosophical writings compiled during the Baghdad period but also in his mystical writings of his years of retirement".⁸ Likewise, Pines points out that al-Ghazālī probably derived some notions appearing in *K. 'ajā'ib al-qalb* from an ethical treatise *tahdhīb al-akhlāq* written by Miskawayh.⁹ According to Pines, al-Ghazālī was also influenced in some of his epistemological statements in *Ihyā'* by the teaching of the Aristotelians.¹⁰ In like manner, I have recently tried to prove that al-Ghazālī, having been influenced by philosophy, developed in his non-philosophical writings a theory of causality whose elements are a mixture of philosophy and religion.¹¹ In sum, philosophy, for the most part Greek, has exerted its influence on al-Ghazālī's philosophical as well as non-philosophical works.

This phenomenon is apparent with regard to Ibn Sīnā's philosophy. According to Wolfson, in *Miẓān* and *Tahāfut* al-Ghazālī followed Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla fī'l-nafs* in combining common sense and imagination into one faculty.¹² Michot shows that in his non-philosophical works al-Ghazālī accepted some of Ibn Sīnā's notions, and cites parallels between Ibn Sīnā's *Risāla adḥawīyya fī amr al-ma'ād* and al-Ghazālī's *K. al-maḍnūn al-kabīr*. In this work al-Ghazālī adopts views which he himself attacks in *Tahāfut*.¹³ A solution of al-Ghazālī's acceptance and rejection of the same notions may be to regard *K. al-maḍnūn al-kabīr* as unauthentic. Vajda defends such a solution when facing the same problem with regard to *Ma'ārij al-quds* which derives most of its material from Ibn Sīnā's different writings.¹⁴ Vajda's solution, how-

⁷ "Ghazālī on 'Gratitude towards God' and its Greek sources" SI 7 (1957) 77-98.

⁸ Gil'adi, p. 91.

⁹ Pines, pp. 12-13.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 15.

¹¹ Abrahamov, pp. 75-98. It is worth noting that, according to some scholars, al-Ghazālī was influenced by philosophy even in *Tahāfut*. Ibid., p. 77f.

¹² H.A. Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophical Texts," *HTR* 28 (1935) 282f.

¹³ Michot, "Avicenne", p. 56. Idem, "Avicenne et la destinée humaine," *Revue Philosophique de Louvain* 79, (1981) 457.

¹⁴ "Le ma'ārij al-quds fī madārij ma'rifat al-nafs attribué à al-Ġazālī et les écrits d'Ibn

ever, seems unsuitable for *K. al-maḏnūn al-kabīr*, for the ideas presented in it are found in al-Ghazālī's genuine works. According to Ibn Sīnā, the soul when leaving the body takes with it the faculty of imagination through which it can feel the torment of the grave and all the states described in the prophets' books.¹⁵ Two facts are of great importance here: (a). Al-Ghazālī does not mention the imaginable Hereafter in his refutation of the philosophers, although he does reject other theses of *Risāla aḏḥawiyya*. (b). The capacity of feeling the states of the world to come through imagination occurs in *Iḥyā'* as one of the three ways to explain the realization of *'adbāb al-qabr*.¹⁶ The appearance of this unorthodox idea in *Iḥyā'* should not puzzle us, since in *Iḥyā'* there appear implicit as well as explicit unorthodox views.¹⁷

Pines finds a point of similarity between Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī: "Al-Ghazālī, like Ibn Sīnā in *Ishārāt*, seems to consider the mystics and the prophets as belonging to the same category of people".¹⁸ According to Pines, both al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā combine the mystical science and the general system of sciences, and admit to the relative superiority of the former over the other sciences.¹⁹ An additional similarity between Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī is the fact that al-Ghazālī, like Ibn Sīnā, composed a visionary recital.²⁰

Before entering into our discussion several methodological remarks seem in order. One need hardly mention that conditions of influence existed; al-Ghazālī knew Ibn Sīnā's writings and used them, although without indicating his source. That Ibn Sīnā impressed al-

Sīnā", *IOS* 2 (1972), pp. 470-473. Cf. A.S. Tritton, "Ma'ārij al-Quds," *BSOAS* 22 (1959) 353.

¹⁵ *Risāla aḏḥawiyya*, p. 125. Michot, "Avicenne", pp. 54f. H.A. Davidson, "Al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā on the Active Intellect", *Viator* 3 (1972) 175.

¹⁶ *Iḥyā'*, vol. IV, p. 501 (*bayan 'adbāb al-qabr wa-su'āl munkar wa-nakīr*). Michot, p. 58. See also the excellent work of J.R. Michot, *La destinée de l'homme selon Avicenne*, Louvain 1986, which is dedicated to Ibn Sīnā's theory of the imaginable world to come.

¹⁷ Abrahamov. Such notions also occur in his other works considered authentic. For example, the idea that things are the product of God's knowledge appears in *al-Maḡṣad al-asnā sharḥ asmā' allāh al-ḥusnā* (Cairo 1968), p. 77. Cf. S. van den Bergh, *The Incoherence of the Incoherence*, London 1954, p. XX.

¹⁸ Pines, p. 15.

¹⁹ Pines, p. 16.

²⁰ H. Corbin, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*, tr. W.R. Trask, New York and London 1960, pp. 196-198. One should also notice similarities in the introductions to works written by both scholars. E.g., the opening of al-Ghazālī's *K. sharḥ 'ajā'ib al-qalb* is similar to the opening of Ibn Sīnā's epistle *al-Quwa al-naḡṣāniyya*. *Aḥwāl*, p. 147.

Ghazālī in the latter's non-philosophical works too has already been proven, as we have just seen. What remains is to continue to investigate the range of this influence by adding more issues in which it is perceived. In doing so one must take care to differentiate between Aristotelian, Neoplatonic and other philosophical influences on al-Ghazālī on the one hand and the Ibn Sīnā influence on the other hand. This can be achieved by examining not only ideas and terms, which may be common to several philosophers, but also the structure and context of the relevant passages. Concerning the terms there is a problem to which al-Ghazālī himself refers. Many times in his writing he states that he prefers the meaning of a notion to its technical expression through a specific term.²¹ Consequently, one must search for notions common to both Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī even when the technical terms expressing these notions may differ. What Ibn Sīnā defines in philosophical terms may appear in al-Ghazālī in religious or Ṣufic ones on account of the author's desire to adapt philosophical notions and ways of argumentation to his religious Weltanschauung without laying himself open to the charge of unorthodoxy. I do not go beyond Ibn Sīnā to search for his sources. Suffice it to presume that in some cases Greek philosophy is found in al-Ghazālī through the medium of Ibn Sīnā.²² This paper aims at demonstrating that Ibn Sīnā is the source of al-Ghazālī when it comes to the division of the intellect, man's knowledge and love of God and his felicity. The results of the present research and others of the same kind, which are based on al-Ghazālī's authentic works, may lead us to reconsider books whose ascription to al-Ghazālī has been denied because of Ibn Sīnā influence. Such is the case of, e.g., *Ma'ārij al-quds*²³ and *K. al-maḍnūn al-kabīr*.

²¹ H. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Studies in al-Ghazālī*, Jerusalem 1975, p. 295.

²² The charge that al-Ghazālī had followed Greek philosophy through Ibn Sīnā was actually levelled against him by later Muslim scholars. In *al-Radd 'alā al-mantiqīyyīn* (ed. S. Nadawi, Bombay 1949, p. 15), Ibn Taymiyya states: "[Ghazālī] wrote a book he called *al-Qistās al-mustaḳīm*, attributing [in it logic] to the teachings of the prophets. He only learned it from Avicenna, who learned it from the books of Aristotle" (quoted by M.E. Marmura in his "Ghazālī's Attitude to the Secular Sciences and Logic," in *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*, ed. G.F. Hourani, New York 1975, p. 103). Cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Muwāfaqat ṣarīḥ*, Vol. III, p. 66.

²³ What is most perplexing in this work is the fact that besides long passages borrowed from Ibn Sīnā (as stated by Tritton [note 14 above] and Vajda), there are some passages which are taken from *Ihyā'*, a fact, which, as far as I know, has never been mentioned by scholars. The identical paragraphs I have found are: The relations between the heart and the sciences. *Ma'ārij al-quds* pp. 74-79/ *Ihyā'*, Vol. III, pp. 13-15. The names of the soul: *Ma'ārij al-quds*, p. 10/ *Ihyā'*, ibid., p. 4. The

II. One of the topics in which Ibn Sīnā's influence on al-Ghazālī seems clear is the division of the rational soul. This issue, like others, appears in several parallel writings of Ibn Sīnā.²⁴ In all of them, and mainly in *Najāt* there emerges a resemblance to al-Ghazālī's *Mīẓān*. The rational soul is divided into a theoretical and a practical faculty (*quwwa 'ālīma*, *quwwa 'āmila*), both of which have a common name "intellect" (*'aql*). The text of the last sentence in *Mīẓān* is almost the same as in these three works of Ibn Sīnā.²⁵ It is followed by the definition of the practical faculty. It reads in al-Ghazālī's *Mīẓān* as follows: "As for the practical [faculty] it is a faculty and an element of the soul, it is the principle of the movement of the human body [which motivates him to carry out] certain individual actions characterized by consideration and deliberation in accordance with what the theoretical intellect enjoins as we shall recall".²⁶ Al-Ghazālī's wording is almost identical with that of *Najāt* except for the last words ("in accordance with purposive considerations"). At the end of the passage just quoted, al-Ghazālī puts forward the notion which is further mentioned by Ibn Sīnā²⁷ to the effect that the practical intellect learns its function from the theoretical intellect.²⁸ In the following passage al-Ghazālī's text is different but the contents remain similar to Ibn Sīnā's; it generally deals with the relation of this faculty to other faculties of the soul. The practical intellect can govern and control other faculties and hence produce excellent morals, but if it fails to do so, it may be governed by bodily faculties and may consequently produce bad morals.²⁹

explanation of the animal faculties. *Ma'ārij al-quds*, p. 29/ *Ihyā'*, ibid., p. 6. The necessary connection between conditions leading to the fulfillment of an act. *Ma'ārij al-quds*, p. 30/ *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 253. The explanation of the vision of God in the Hereafter. *Ma'ārij al-quds*, p. 135 / *Ihyā'*, ibid., p. 312.

²⁴ *Najāt*, *Aḥwāl*, *Nukat*.

²⁵ *Mīẓān*, p. 202: *wa-qad tusamma kulu wāḥida minhumā 'aqlan wa-lākin 'alā sabīl al-ism al-mushtarak*. *Najāt*, p. 163: *wa-kulu wāḥida min al-quwwatayn tusamma 'aqlan bi'shtirāk al-ism*. *Aḥwāl*, p. 63 = *Najāt*. *Nukat*, p. 156: *wa-tusamma kulu wāḥida 'aqlan bi'l-ishtirāk*.

²⁶ *Mīẓān*, p. 203: *fa-ammā al-'āmila fa-hiya quwwatun wa-ma'nān li'l-nafs hiya mabda' ḥarakat badan al-insān ilā al-af'āl al-mu'ayyana al-juz'iyya al-mukhtaṣṣa bi'l-fikr wa'l-rawiyya 'alā mā taqtaḍīhi al-quwwatu al-'ālīma allati nadhkuruhā*. *Najāt*, p. 163: *fa-l-'āmila quwwatun hiya mabda' muḥarrik li-badan al-insān ilā al-af'āl al-juz'iyya al-khāṣṣa bi'l-rawiyya 'alā muqtaḍā āra takhṣṣuhā iṣlāḥiyya*. *Aḥwāl*, p. 63: The word *ḥaraka* replaces *muḥarrik*. *Nukat*, p. 156: The text is different, the contents identical.

²⁷ *Najāt*, p. 164, l. 10.

²⁸ Rahman, *Avicenna*, pp. 85f.

²⁹ *Najāt*, p. 164. Cf. Plotinus, *Enneads*, I.6. 5-6.

It is worth noting that in *Ihyā'* (vol. III, p. 8)³⁰ al-Ghazālī distinguishes between *ʿilm* (knowledge) and *irāda* (will) which, according to the description of their functions, correspond to theoretical and practical intellect respectively.³¹ The fact that al-Ghazālī uses philosophical notions without resorting to the traditional technical terms is proved through the examination of his treatment of other issues.³² This phenomenon is most conspicuous in *Ihyā'* and less prominent in *Mīẓān* as we shall immediately see.³³

Now, let us return to the second of the two kinds of the intellect. In *Mīẓān* the theoretical intellect is defined as "the faculty which by its nature receives the universal forms abstracted from material impediments which cause them (the universal forms) to be partially sensible".³⁴ The definition of *Najāt* is slightly different,³⁵ but retains the same idea. Following Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī states that this faculty has three stages with regard to the knowledge occurring in it. Whereas Ibn Sīnā uses the technical terms pertaining to these stages along with examples analogous to the art of writing, al-Ghazālī makes do with these examples. The first stage is expressed by the example of an infant who has a potentiality for writing which is not realized.³⁶ Ibn Sīnā calls this stage an absolute or material potentiality (*quwwa mutlaqa hayūlāniyya*).³⁷ Elsewhere it occurs in *Ihyā'* as an attribute through which man is ready to receive the theoretical knowledge. It is called natural disposition (*gharīza*).³⁸ Following the example of the art of writing, the second stage in al-Ghazālī refers to a child who knows about the existence of an inkpot, a pen and separate letters, i.e., the tools of writing. In relation to knowledge,

³⁰ K. sharḥ 'ajā'ib al-qalb, bayān khāṣṣiyat qalb al-insān.

³¹ E.g. the will is defined as the motive which makes the organs move according to the judgement of the intellect (*al-bā'ith al-muḥarrik li'l-a'dā' alā muqtadā al-'aql*).

³² Abrahamov, Gil'adi, p. 88.

³³ But he also uses philosophical terms in *Ihyā'*. E.L. Ormsby, *An Islamic Version of Theodicy: The Dispute over al-Ghazālī's "Best of all Possible Worlds,"* unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor 1983, p. 240.

³⁴ *Mīẓān*, p. 205: *biya allati min sha'nihā an tatallaqa al-ma'ānī al-kulliyya al-mujarrada 'an al-'awāriḍ allati taj'aluhā maḥsusa juẓ'yyatan*.

³⁵ *Najāt*, p. 165: *min sha'nihā an tanṭabi'a bi'l-ṣuwar al-kulliyya al-mujarrada 'an al-mādda*. The same wording (except for *ṣūra* instead of *ṣuwar*) appears in *Aḥwāl*, p. 65. *Nukat*, p. 157 has: *fa-biya al-quwwa al-muntaqisha bi'l-ṣuwar al-kulliyya allatī takūnu mujarrada 'an al-mādda*.

³⁶ *Mīẓān*, p. 205.

³⁷ *Najāt*, p. 165, *Aḥwāl*, p. 65.

³⁸ *Ihyā'*, Vol. I, p. 85 (K. *al-'ilm*, bayān baqīqat al-'aql wa-aqsāmuhū).

³⁹ *Mīẓān*, p. 206. *Najāt*, p. 166.

this stage indicates the possession of the necessary primary intelligibles (*al-ma'qūlāt al-awwalīyya al-darūriyya*).³⁹ Ibn Sīnā refers to this stage as *quwwa mumkina* (possible potentiality).⁴⁰ In *Ihyā'* al-Ghazālī uses both the example of the art of writing⁴¹ and some of the technical terms. The terms used are: 1. necessary immediate intelligibles (*'ulūm darūriyya awwalīyya*). 2. the theoretical knowledge becomes possible (*al-'ulūm al-naẓariyya šārat mumkina*). 3. the knowledge of the absurdity of the impossibilities (*istiḥālat al-mustaḥīlāt*) and the knowledge of the admissibility of the possibilities (*jawāẓ al-jā'izāt*).⁴² The third stage in *Mīẓān* indicates a state in which the acquired intelligibles (*al-ma'qūlāt al-kasbiyya*) actually exist and are stored like (*ka'l-makhzūna*) in man. A man can always return to this faculty and use it. In this stage he is like a skilled scribe who does not use his skill but is entirely ready to use it through approximate faculty. Al-Ghazālī uses words and terms occurring in Ibn Sīnā: *makhzūna* (stored), *isti'dād* (powerful predisposition), *bi'l-fi'l* (actually) and the example of the scribe.⁴³ He does not use Ibn Sīnā's term for this stage, namely, *al-'aql bi'l-malaka* (habitus). However, in *Ihyā'*,⁴⁴ whoever is in this stage is called "intelligent in habit" (*'āqil bi'l-'āda*), which is equivalent to Ibn Sīnā's *'āqil bi'l-malaka*.⁴⁵ Al-Ghazālī does not continue the course of Ibn Sīnā's thinking; he does not deal with the fourth stage through which the intellect passes into absolute actuality, i.e., the stage when the intellect actually uses the forms it has. Nor does he treat the stage of the acquired intellect (*al-'aql al-mustafād*). Possibly he thinks of the third stage as including *al-'aql bi'l-fi'l* and *al-'aql al-mustafād* since he regards it as the limit of the intellectual human stage and since it contains endless and different stages according to the number and rank of the intelligibles.⁴⁶

Al-Ghazālī continues to follow Ibn Sīnā's *Najāt* in describing the ways through which the rational soul acquires the intelligibles. His

³⁹ *Najāt*, p. 165.

⁴¹ *Ihyā'*, Vol. III, p. 8: "His state in relation to the intelligibles (*'ulūm*) is like the state of a writer who knows of writing only the inkpot, the pen and the separate letters..."

⁴² Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 85.

⁴³ *Mīẓān*, p. 206. Cf. *Ihyā'*, Vol. III, p. 8.

⁴⁴ Vol. I, p. 85.

⁴⁵ In *Ihyā'*, Vol. I, p. 86, al-Ghazālī adds a fourth stage which corresponds to the practical intellect in *Mīẓān*.

⁴⁶ *Mīẓān*, p. 206: *wa-bādhibi nihāyat al-daraja al-insāniyya. wa-lākin fī bādhibi al-rutba darajāt la tuḥṣā takhtalifu bi-katbrat al-ma'lūmāt wa-bi-qillatibā wa-bi-sharafi al-ma'lūmāt wa-khiṣṣatibā* ... Cf. *Aḥwāl*, p. 67, l. 10.

adherence to Ibn Sīnā here is evident in the general lines as well as in some of the terms. Ibn Sīnā divides the acquisition of knowledge into two parts: a. acquisition through someone else, b. acquisition through oneself. The second kind is relevant to the present inquiry. Some people, says Ibn Sīnā, have a more powerful predisposition (*isti'dād* meaning the material intellect) for forming concepts (*taṣawwur*) than others. Such a powerful predisposition is called "intuition" (*ḥads*), which in its fullest degree means that a man knows everything by himself. The power of intuition is *dhakā'*⁴⁷ (acumen). As Gutas points out Ibn Sīnā uses the Qur'ānic term *fiṭra* to describe intuition in the theological terminology.⁴⁸ Al-Ghazālī designates acquisition through oneself *ilhām ilāhi* (divine inspiration) which seems at first sight to be something that man receives from God. He differentiates between three kinds of people: a. those who perceive through being stimulated by themselves (*tanabbaha min nafsihī*), b. those who do not understand without being stimulated (*tanbīh*), and c. those whom even *tanbīh* does not benefit.⁴⁹ The first kind corresponds to those people in Ibn Sīnā who have a powerful predisposition. Such a man knows everything by himself.⁵⁰ *Ilhām* is also defined in al-Ghazālī as the knowledge of the hidden things which become clear to man in his inner being without studying.⁵¹ Those things are contained in this predisposition (*gharīḡa*)⁵² of human nature (*bi'l-fiṭra*) for they are very close to being perceived (*li-qurb isti'dādihā li'l-idrāk*). This phrase is very near to Ibn Sīnā's statement: "Among the students there are those who are very close to forming concepts since their predisposition is very powerful".⁵³

III. Another similarity between Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī is the use of the light verse (Qur'ān 24.35) as a parable which shows the various degrees of the rational soul. In *Mishkāt* al-Ghazālī enumerates five faculties or spirits of the human soul.⁵⁴ The first of these is the sensitive spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ḥassās*) which receives the information ob-

⁴⁷ *Najāt*, p. 167. *Gutas*, p. 161.

⁴⁸ *Gutas*, p. 170.

⁴⁹ *Ihyā'*, Vol. I, p. 88.

⁵⁰ Cf. *Najāt*, p. 167, ll. 2-3: as if one knows everything by oneself (*ka-annahu ya'rifu kull shay' min nafsihī*).

⁵¹ *Ihyā'*, Vol. I, p. 88, ll. 17-18.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 86, l. 4 from the end.

⁵³ *Najāt*, p. 166.

⁵⁴ In my opinion, *Mishkāt* basically does not deviate from al-Ghazālī's other works on the issue of man's cognition.

tained by the senses. The second is the imaginative spirite (*al-rūḥ al-khayālī*) which records the information received by the senses and keeps it ready for use by the third spirit. The third spirit, the intellectual spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ʿaqlī*), perceives notions which cannot be perceived by the senses or by the imagination. The objects of perception by the intellectual spirit are necessary and universal pieces of knowledge.⁵⁵ The fourth is the discursive spirit (*al-rūḥ al-fikrī*) which uses syllogisms in treating pieces of knowledge.⁵⁶ The fifth is the sacred prophetic spirit (*al-rūḥ al-qudsī al-nabawī*) which pertains to prophets and saints. Through this faculty the unseen tables(?), the laws of the world to come, some knowledge of the Celestial and Terrestrial Realms and divine knowledge, which the intellectual and discursive spirits cannot perceive, are revealed.⁵⁷ According to al-Ghazālī, it is not impossible that beyond the intellect (*ʿaql*) there should be another stage which releases that which does not come out through the intellect. Al-Ghazālī calls this stage, the sacred prophetic spirit, *dhawq* and *wijdān*.⁵⁸ The fact that the fifth spirit is beyond the intellect, and the use of the words *dhawq* and *wijdān* may lead us immediately to the conclusion that al-Ghazālī regards the last spirit as mystical experience, dis severed from the other spirits.

But the essence of the fifth faculty seems to be different in the case of al-Ghazālī's explanation of the components of the parable of the light verse.⁵⁹ The sensitive spirit is symbolized by the niche for a lamp, the imaginative spirit by the glass, the intellectual spirit by the lamp, the discursive spirit by the tree (because it branches out as the result of the process of syllogism) and the sacred prophetic spirit by the oil.⁶⁰ I would now like to quote the passage dealing with the symbol for the fifth spirit, since the symbol may contribute to our

⁵⁵ *Mishkāt*, pp. 43-48.

⁵⁶ Al-Ghazālī's attitude to this important device is best demonstrated in *Qistās* and in *K. al-fikr in Iḥyā'*, Vol. IV.

⁵⁷ *Mishkāt*, p. 76f.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77, l. 13- p. 78, l. 3 from the end.

⁵⁹ A.J. Arberry's translation of this verse (in his *The Koran Interpreted*, Oxford 1983, pp. 356f.) runs as follows: "God is the Light of the heavens and the earth; the likeness of His Light is as a niche wherein is a lamp (the lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star) kindled from a Blessed Tree, an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West whose oil well nigh would shine, even if no fire touched it; Light upon Light; (God guides to His Light whom He will.) (And God strikes similitudes for men, and God has knowledge of everything.)."

⁶⁰ *Mishkāt*, pp. 79-81.

understanding of the spirit. "As for the fifth, it is the sacred prophetic spirit attributed to the saints, it is absolutely pure and luminous.⁶¹ For the discursive spirit (*al-rūḥ al-mufakkeira*)⁶² is divided into that which requires instruction, stimulation (*tanbīḥ*) and assistance from the outside so that it may continue [to deal with various] types of knowledge, and that which is absolutely pure as if it were stimulated from within (*yatanabbahu bi-naḥsihi*) without outside assistance. Therefore it is appropriate to express the pure and intensely ready (to act) faculty (*al-ṣāfi al-bāligh al-istiḍā*) in [the words]: whose oil almost would illuminate, even if no fire touched it. For there are saints whose light almost shines so that they could almost dispense with the prophets' assistance, and there are prophets who could almost dispense with the angels' assistance. This parable fits this part (i.e., the fifth spirit)".⁶³ Now, according to this passage the discursive spirit is divided into two parts. The first needs help from the outside and is therefore not entirely pure. Actually it is the fourth spirit which al-Ghazālī calls *al-rūḥ al-fikrī*. This conclusion is proved by a comparison with a passage in *K. al-tafakkur* in *Ihyā'* in which al-Ghazālī states that the way of using syllogisms is obtained either by a divine light in the heart, which is an inborn quality (*nūr ilāhī bi'l-qalb yaḥṣulu bi'l-fiṭra*) — as is the case with all of the prophets — or by learning and exercising, which is the case with most people.⁶⁴ This second way equals the fourth spirit, and the first equals the fifth spirit which is the faculty of the prophets. Thus the difference between the way of the prophets and of the saints to reach the ultimate truth, on the one hand, and the way of the wise or of the philosophers, on the other, is not an essential one, since both parties obtain knowledge through the same device; namely, the discursive spirit. It is only a difference of degree. The discursive spirit, in its pure form, i.e., the sacred prophetic spirit, enables prophets and saints to perceive immediately what others would perceive only after a long time if ever. Thus al-Ghazālī believes in intellectual revelation caused by

⁶¹ The text has *fi ghāyat al-ṣafā' wa'l-sharaf*. *Al-sharaf* does not make any sense. Very probably it is a scribal error and the original word may have been *al-sharq*.

⁶² Gairdner (*Mishkāt al-anwār*, tr. Lahore 1952 [rep. of London ed. 1924], p. 153) translates this term as "the thought spirit," while, through the context, it is very clear that al-Ghazālī speaks here of the fourth spirit, namely, the discursive spirit.

⁶³ *Mishkāt*, p. 81, ll. 4-11.

⁶⁴ *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 426, ll. 17-18.

illuminated intuition. This notion may have been taken from Ibn Sīnā.⁶⁵

The scheme of the parable of the light verse in Ibn Sīnā makes recourse to the terms denoting the stages of the intellect mentioned above. The symbol for the material intellect is the niche for a lamp (*mishkāt*); for the process of acquiring knowledge, namely, the secondary intelligibles through syllogisms (= the discursive spirit of al-Ghazālī, *fiker*) it is the olive tree (here Ibn Sīnā is undoubtedly the source for al-Ghazālī); for intuition, which differs from the preceding faculty only in that it attains the middle term at once, it is the oil. This corresponds to al-Ghazālī's *al-rūḥ al-quḍī*. Intuition in Ibn Sīnā may be divided into three stages: very strong, weak and middle. The weak one is mentioned above. The middle is what Ibn Sīnā calls intellect in habitu (*al-'aql bi'l-malaka*) which is represented in the parable by the glass, and the very strong intuition (*quwwa qudsiyya*) is the faculty to which the verse refers as: "Whose oil almost would illuminate, even if no fire touched it". (Al-Ghazālī also states that this phrase refers to the highest faculty of the rational soul.) When the theoretical intellect attains this perfection through obtaining the primary and the secondary intelligibles, and the latter are actually present, this state, called the acquired intellect (*al-'aql al-mustafād*), is symbolized through the words "light on light" (*nūr 'alā nūr*). The actual intellect (*al-'aql bi'l-fi'l*), the stage in which the soul can bring the intelligibles whenever it wills, is represented in the symbol through the lamp. And the active intellect (*al-'aql al-fa'āl*), the cause of the soul's ascendance through these stages, is the fire (*nār*) of the symbol.⁶⁶

Ibn Sīnā's explanation of the symbol is undoubtedly more philosophically oriented and more elaborate than that of al-Ghazālī.⁶⁷ Al-

⁶⁵ See Rahman, *Prophecy*, p. 31 and the notes to this page. *Mishkāt*. Affifi's introduction, pp. 21f. M.E. Marmura, "Avicenna's Psychological Proof of Prophecy," *JNES* 22 (1963) 52. On the word *tanbīh* see above p. 8. Al-Ghazālī also thinks that prophets can obtain their prophecy through stages. An example of this kind of prophecy is Ibrāhīm. *Qisṭās*, pp. 49, 55.

⁶⁶ Nukat, p. 162f. Cf. *Ishārāt*, Vol. II, pp. 369ff. (Goichon, p. 324). *Ma'ārij al-quḍs*, p. 45. *Tis' rasā'il fi'l-ḥikma wa'l-ṭabī'īyyāt*, Cairo 1908, pp. 125ff.

⁶⁷ It is to be noted that according to one passage in *Mishkāt*, *al-rūḥ al-quḍī* seems to be something essentially different from the intellect. Only al-Ghazālī's explanation of the parable reveals his differing attitude. I have pointed out a similar phenomenon in al-Ghazālī's explanation of the water-clock parable; the explanation of the parable is different from the conclusion drawn after introducing this explanation. Abrahamov, p. 84.

Ghazālī points out only two terms of those mentioned by Ibn Sīnā, namely, *al-rūḥ al-fikrī* (= Ibn Sīnā's *fiker*) and *al-rūḥ al-qudsī* (= Ibn Sīnā's *al-quwwa al-qudsiyya*, *rūḥ muqaddas* [*Aḥwāl*, p. 171, l. 4] and *al-rūḥ al-qudsiyya* [F. Rahman, *Avicenna's De Anima (Arabic Text) Being the Psychological Part of Kitāb al-Shifā*, London 1959, p. 249, l. 1]). Al-Ghazālī's adherence to Ibn Sīnā in the general plan or idea and in the usage of some of his terms is also a feature of the former's relation with Ibn Sīnā's writings.

IV. Other parallels between Ibn Sīnā and al-Ghazālī are found in the issue of man's knowledge and his love of God. Al-Ghazālī connects knowledge or perception and love. He defines love in terms of knowledge (love comes only after knowledge) and thus comes close to the teaching of Ibn Sīnā.⁶⁸ According to al-Ghazālī, love means an inclination towards something in which one finds pleasure. If this inclination becomes strong it is called *'ishq*.⁶⁹ Man loves himself because there is in his nature an inclination towards the continuation of his existence (*dawām wujūdihī*). Just as the continuation of one's existence is held dear so too is the perfection of one's existence (*kamāl al-wujūd*). This reminds us of Ibn Sīnā's notion that every entity has a desire to reach perfection. In *Risāla fī'l-'ishq* this desire is defined as love.⁷⁰ As a result of man's love of *dawām al-wajūd* and *kamāl al-wujūd*, man loves what contributes to both elements including whatever benefits himself, for the latter leads to the continuation of his existence and to its perfection. The same notion appears in Ibn Sīnā.⁷¹

God is the source of man's existence and of the continuation and perfection of this existence. Man has no existence by virtue of himself. It is God who bestows existence on him, makes him continue to live and makes him perfect. God is the only entity which exists by virtue of itself.⁷² Consequently, "if the knower loves his essence (*dhātahu*) and the existence of his essence is acquired from someone else, he necessarily loves him who bestows upon him existence and makes him continue, if he knows Him as a Creator, a Bringer into existence ...".⁷³ A similar notion is expressed by Ibn

⁶⁸ *Risāla*, p. 21.

⁶⁹ *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 296.

⁷⁰ *Risāla*, p. 2. Morewedge, p. 12f.

⁷¹ *Risāla*, p. 18, l. 3.

⁷² Cf. *al-Maqṣad al-asnā*, Cairo 1968, p. 119f.

⁷³ *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 301.

Sīnā: "Every existent has a natural love (*'ishq gharīẓī*) towards its perfection for its perfection is a cause through which it attains its goodness.⁷⁴ It is thus clear that the cause through which a thing attains its goodness ... must be beloved by the acquirer of goodness. And there is nothing more perfect ... than the First Cause".⁷⁵ The similarity between al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā is clear. One should notice, however, that in Ibn Sīnā the perfection is the source of one's goodness.

Suitability (*munāsaba*) is another cause of love and the most powerful one in al-Ghazālī's eyes.⁷⁶ One form is inclined towards another because of the similarity between them. The suitability between God and man is treated by al-Ghazālī on two levels. The first is man's imitation of God's attributes such as mercy, doing good, guidance and so on. Such a suitability can be written in books. The second level, however, indicates a suitability which one is forbidden to put forward in writing. Faithful to his way of concealing things and revealing them in the same book or passage,⁷⁷ al-Ghazālī at first only alludes to the thing common to man and God,⁷⁸ then in the following chapter states plainly what thing is shared by both God and man. The most specific attribute of God is knowledge.⁷⁹ Man is God-like in sharing with Him the process of contemplation which means for man the perfection of his essence (*kamāl dhātihī*). Man derives pleasure from intellection. His pleasure grows so long as the object of the intellection is noble. Consequently, the greatest pleasure is the intellection of God which is the most perfect of all objects of knowledge. The following elements stated by al-Ghazālī are also found in Ibn Sīnā⁸⁰: that the suitability is the best cause of love,⁸¹ that it is knowledge and that man's perfection and hence his pleasure derive from intellection.⁸²

⁷⁴ The notion that true love is love of the good occurs in Neoplatonic writings. A.H. Armstrong, "Platonic Eros and Christian Agape," *Plotinian and Christian Studies*, London 1979, Ch. IX, rep. from *The Downside Review*, *Bath* 79 (1961), p. 113.

⁷⁵ *Risāla*, p. 22, l. 3 from the end to p. 23, l. 1.

⁷⁶ *Ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 307.

⁷⁷ Abrahamov, p. 84.

⁷⁸ *Ihyā'*, *ibid.*, p. 307 at the bottom.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 308, l. 11. This is a view of Aristotle. *Morewedge*, p. 7.

⁸⁰ *Risāla*, p. 21, l. 1 from the end.

⁸¹ *Ishārāt*, Vol. III, p. 220.

⁸² *Aḥwāl*, p. 130.

Man's attaining his perfection in this world is connected with his felicity in the world to come. A passage in *K. al-mahabba* which follows the above-discussed passage deals with the notion that only the knowers can attain perfect happiness in the world to come. It is well known that according to Muslim dogma the best reward which the believers will receive in the Hereafter is seeing God (*ru'yat allāh*).⁸³ The real meaning of this has been much disputed by Islamic dogmatic schools.⁸⁴ While al-Ash'arī and his followers held that God will be seen in the world to come, most of the Mu'tazilites interpreted this vision to mean knowledge.⁸⁵ Al-Ghazālī seems to adopt the Mu'tazilite view (or Ibn Sīnā's; see below) and incorporate it into the framework of his own ideas. He begins his discussion of this issue with the statement that things perceived (*mudrakāt*) are divided into two kinds: (a). those perceived by imagination, such as bodies of any sort, and (b). those not perceived by imagination, such as God's essence and everything which is not a body, such as knowledge, power, will etc. The difference between imagining things and seeing them is merely that in seeing there is more clarity and disclosure than in imagining, for the form seen is consistent with the form imagined. Seeing is thus called because it is the utmost disclosure, not because it is fixed in the eyes.⁸⁶ The things known (*ma'lūmāt*) are also of two sorts: (a). things which are first known (*al-ma'lūmāt al-'ūlā*, and (b). things known which complement man's knowledge (*istikmāl lahā*). The difference between the two sorts of *ma'lūmāt* is like the difference between a thing imagined and a thing seen; that is, the things known in the second stage (the complementary) are more clear and disclosed. Furthermore, as in the first dichotomy, the second type is called seeing in relation to the first type, for seeing is the utmost disclosure. Al-Ghazālī goes on in this comparison to say that just as one cannot see when one's eyelids are shut, and in such a case one's perception means only imagination, so too do corporeal obstacles (e.g. desires) prevent one from a perfect

⁸³ *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* (Beirut 1970) to *sūra* 10, v. 26 (Vol. III, p. 497f) and to *sūra* 75, vv. 22-23 (Vol. VII, p. 171).

⁸⁴ A.K. Tuft, *The Origins and Development of the Controversy Over 'Ru'ya' in Medieval Islam and its relation to Contemporary Visual Theory*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California 1979, University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor 1982.

⁸⁵ 'Abd al-Jabbār(?), *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthman, Cairo 1965, pp. 270f.

⁸⁶ *ihyā'*, Vol. IV, p. 312, ll. 1-10 (*bayān al-sabab fī ṣayyadat al-naẓar fī ladhdhat al-ākhiba 'alā al-ma'rifa fī'l-dunyā*).

knowledge of things. These obstacles will be removed in the world to come and man will see God not in the meaning of a physical vision, which God is above, but in the sense of real and perfect knowledge.⁸⁷ What is most important is the following statement of al-Ghazālī: "The knowledge which is attained in this world, this knowledge itself, is to be complemented, to reach the perfect disclosure and clarity and to become perfect perception, or intellectual seeing (*mushāhada*). There will be no difference between the perfect perception in the Hereafter and the things which man knows in this world but with regard to additional disclosure and clarity".⁸⁸ Whoever does not know God in this world will not see (= know) him in the world to come. What does not accompany man from this world will not recommence in the Hereafter.⁸⁹ Consequently, inasmuch as the measure of the knowledge of God, His qualities and His actions increases in this world, so the pleasure in the Hereafter increases.⁹⁰

In his *Risāla fī māhiyyat al-ṣalāt*, Ibn Sīnā states that man will see the True One through intellectual vision (*mushāhada ʿaqliyya*), not through bodily seeing (*mushāhada jismāniyya*).⁹¹ Furthermore, the notion that man who attains some degree of knowledge in this world will complement this knowledge and make it perfect in the Hereafter is also known through Ibn Sīnā's writings. Ibn Sīnā regards the intellection of the spiritual entities as the best pleasure man can obtain. Let us read, for instance, the following passage: "If the intellectual faculty of the soul attains the utmost degree of perfection through which it can, when leaving the body, perfectly complement itself—a condition which it is able to attain—our parable will be a numb person who was given pleasant food without feeling it, then his numbness ceases and he acquaints himself with the great pleasure at one stroke... This is the greatest and the noblest pleasure, it is the felicity".⁹² The perfection of the rational soul, in Ibn Sīnā, is its becoming an intellectual world in which the form of all things is

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 312, l. 11- p. 313, l. 9. Cf. Maimonides, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, part I, ch. 5, pp. 19-21 (ed. Joel).

⁸⁸ *Ihyāʾ*, ibid., p. 313, ll. 10-12. Man's knowledge is not erased when he dies. *Ihyāʾ*, Vol. III, p. 22. *Mishkāt*, pp. 47f.

⁸⁹ *Ihyāʾ*, Vol. IV, p. 313, l. 29- p. 314, l. 2.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 315, ll. 5-7. Cf. *Maʿārij al-quds*, pp. 135f.

⁹¹ *Risāla fī*, p. 38.

⁹² *Aḥwāl*, p. 133.

impressed.⁹³ Al-Ghazālī expresses the same idea: “The soul’s happiness and perfection means its being impressed by the true divine matters and united with them as though it was like them”.⁹⁴

In sum, the parallels drawn between al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā concerning the division of the rational soul, man’s knowledge and love of God and his felicity may lead to the conclusion that al-Ghazālī’s source of these notions is Ibn Sīnā. We have also seen that al-Ghazālī’s attitude towards using traditional philosophical terms in putting forward his philosophical ideas vacillates between two poles: usage of such terms and rejecting them or expressing them in Islamic terms. The similarities between the two authors in the areas discussed cause us to reconsider the question of the authenticity of some of al-Ghazālī’s treatises which were regarded as spurious on account of the Ibn Sinian influence. There is some reason to think that at least *Ma’ārij al-quḍs* is not Ibn Sīnā’s, because it contains passages from *Ihyā’*. If this work is not a compilation of both Ibn Sīnā’s writings and al-Ghazālī’s by an anonymous writer it could be al-Ghazālī’s. More studies are needed in order to draw clear conclusions concerning *Ma’ārij al-quḍs* and other works of al-Ghazālī. Such studies would deal with, e.g., the function of the world of the angels, emanation, visionary recitals, the attitude towards the masses and the elite, and the esoteric aspect of writing.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abrahamov: B. Abrahamov, “Al-Ghazālī’s Theory of Causality”, SI 77 (1988) 75-98.

Aḥwāl: Ibn Sīnā, *Aḥwāl al-naḥs-Risāla fi’l-naḥs wa-baqā’ihā wa-ma’ādhā*, including also three other epistles of Ibn Sīnā: 1. *al-Quwā al-naḥsāniyya* 2. *Risāla fi’l-naḥs al-naḥs al-naḥs al-naḥs al-naḥs* 3. *Risāla fi’l-naḥs al-naḥs al-naḥs*, ed. Aḥmad Fu’ād al-Aḥwānī, Cairo 1952.

Badawī: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *al-Ghazālī wa-maḥādiruhū al-yūnāniyya*, in *Abū Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī fi’l-dhikrā al-mi’awīyya al-tāsi’a li-milādihī*, Dimashq 1961, pp. 221-237.

Gil’adi: A. Gil’adi, “On the Origin of Two Key-Terms in al-Ghazālī’s *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*,” *Arabica* 36 (1989) 81-91.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 130.

⁹⁴ *Miḥān*, p. 221: *sa’ādāt al-naḥs wa-kamālūhā an tantagisha bi-ḥaqā’iq al-umūr al-ilāhiyya wa-tattahida bi-hā ka-annahā hiya.*

- Goichon: A.M. Goichon, *Livre des Directives et Remarques*, Beirut and Paris 1951.
- Gutas: D. Gutas, *Avicenna and the Aristotelian Tradition*, Leiden 1988.
- Ibn Taymiyya, *Muwāfaqat ṣaḥīḥ*: Ibn Taymiyya, *Muwāfaqat ṣaḥīḥ al-manqūl li-ṣaḥīḥ al-ma'qūl*, ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālim, Riyad 1979.
- Iḥyā'*: al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, n.d.
- Ishārāt*: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Ishārāt wa'l-tanbīhāt*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1948.
- Ma'ārij al-quds*: al-Ghazālī (?), *Ma'ārij al-quds fī madārij ma'rifat al-nafs*, Cairo, al Maktaba al-Tijāriyya al-Kubrā, n.d.
- Maqāsid*: al-Ghazālī, *Maqāsid al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1960.
- Michot, "Avicenne": J. Michot, "Avicenne et le Kitāb al-Maḍnūn d'al-Ghazālī," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 181/9 (1976) 51-59.
- Mishkāt*: al-Ghazālī, *Mishkāt al-anwār*, ed. Abū al-'alā 'Afīfī, Cairo 1964.
- Mīẓān*: al-Ghazālī, *Mīẓān al-'amal*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1961.
- Morewedge: P. Morewedge, "The Logic of Emanationism and Ṣufism in the Philosophy of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna)," *JAOs* 91 (1971) 467-76, 92 (1972) 1-18.
- Najāt*: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Najāt fī'l-ḥikma al-mantiqiyya wa'l-tabī'iyya wa'l-ilāhiyya*, Cairo 1938.
- Nukat*: Ibn Sīnā, *al-Fann al-khāmis min al-kitāb al-thānī min kitāb al-nukat wa'l-fawā'id* in W. Kutsch's "Ein neuer Text zur Seelenlehre Avicennas," *Avicenna Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta 1956, pp. 147-178.
- Pines: S. Pines, "Quelques notes sur les rapports de l'Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn d'al-Ghazālī avec la Pensée d'Ibn Sīnā," *Islam d'Hier et d'Aujourd'hui* Ghazālī — la raison et la miracle, Paris, 1987, pp. 11-16.
- Qisṭās*: al-Ghazālī, *al-Qisṭās al-mustaqīm*, ed. V. Shelhot, Beirut 1959.
- Rahman, *Avicenna*: F. Rahman, *Avicenna's Psychology*, An English tr. of Kitāb al-Najāt, Book II, Ch. VI, Oxford 1952.
- Rahman, *Prophecy*: F. Rahman, *Prophecy in Islam*, London 1958.
- Risāla*: Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fī'l-'ishq*, in *Traité mystiques d'Abou 'Alī al-Ḥosain b. Abdallah b. Sīnā*, ed. M.A.F. Mehren, Leiden 1899, part III, pp. 1-27.
- Risāla adḥawīyya*: Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla adḥawīyya fī amr al-ma'ād*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1949.
- Risāla fī*: Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fī mābiyyat al-ṣalāt*, in *Traité mystiques...*, ed. M.A.F. Mehren, part III, pp. 28-43.
- Tabāfut*: al-Ghazālī, *Tabāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. Sulaymān Dunyā, Cairo 1955.

* This article was read at the 33rd International Congress of Asian and North African Studies held in Toronto in August 1990.

THE PROTO-ALPHABETIC INSCRIPTIONS OF CANAAN

BY

BRIAN E. COLLESS

In a previous study, the proto-alphabetic inscriptions of Sinai and Canaan were examined briefly (Colless 1988). This was followed by a detailed presentation of my proposed decipherment for the Sinai texts (Colless 1990). An attempt will now be made to read texts from Canaan (Syria-Palestine), in accordance with the scheme of signs and values set forth in my first study (Colless 1988: 33-52).

The same difficulties will confront us in Canaan as in Sinai: illegibility through damage or scribal incompetence; inconsistency in depicting the object represented by a particular pictograph; variation in the direction of the writing; ambiguity caused by the lack of vowels and the dearth of punctuation for separating words and sentences (though word dividers are sometimes in evidence in early Canaanite inscriptions).

The Proto-Sinaitic texts were all from the same limited area, and their situation in and around turquoise mines gave significant contextual clues; the inscriptions were found to be largely concerned with mining and metallurgy, but they also referred to the provisioning of the workers, and they reflected the religious concerns of these Semites (shown, for example, on votive offerings to the goddess Ba'alat in the temple of Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim). By contrast, the Proto-Canaanite texts have been discovered in ancient towns and villages all over the land, and in a variety of contexts. Here the main industrial connections are with potters, who occasionally made incisions on pots before baking them (01: Gezer jars, 17: Hesi potters' marks, 20: Halif jar handle, and also possibly 13: the Ajjul handle and 21: the Akko handle); but the question that arises with marks on pottery is whether they are script or merely decoration (cp. 22: the Tel Aviv jars). Four of the Proto-Canaanite texts come from temples, and thus have a restricted frame of reference: the Gezer sherd (02) apparently describes itself as a *kn b* "temple stand"; the

Lachish ostrakon (06) and the Lachish ewer (07) indicate by the word *šy* “tribute” that they were votive offerings; the Lachish bowl fragment (11) seems to bear the name Gad, the deity of good fortune (see also 12: the Ajjul cup). Other divinities appearing in the texts are Elat (07: the Lachish ewer), Lel (06: the Lachish ostrakon), and possibly Kharkhab (05: the Lachish bowl sherd).

The Proto-Canaanite inscriptions will be classified according to provenance, and examined in the order listed below (hypothetical readings added in brackets). The proto-alphabet is a Bronze Age phenomenon, and some of the texts are probably of the Iron Age (12th century B.C.E.), notably 23, 27, 29. (For the significant but flawed Izbet Sartah ostrakon, with its Iron Age abecedary, see Sass 1988: 65-69; fig. 175-177.)

01. GEZER JARS (*ʾ b g ḥ y k l m n s r š t*)
02. GEZER SHERD (*kn b*)
03. SHECHEM PLAQUE (*yʾrk mm bʾr ndyty*)
04. LACHISH DAGGER (*sr ns*)
05. LACHISH BOWL SHERD (*ḥrḥb byšʾh wšbb*)
06. LACHISH OSTRACON (*šy ʾdr lll*)
07. LACHISH EWER (*mtn: šy lrbty ʾlt*)
08. LACHISH BOWL (*bšlšt ym yrḥ*)
09. LACHISH CENSER LID (*z lbyṯ*)
10. LACHISH SHERD (*lbyṯ*)
11. LACHISH BOWL FRAGMENT (*gdy*)
12. AJJUL CUP (*gd yln*)
13. AJJUL HANDLE (*kt*)
14. AJJUL JUG (*sry*)
15. NAGILA SHERD (*š h w y y*)
16. HESI SHERD (*blʾ*)
17. HESI POTTERS' MARKS (*ʾ g z ḥ y k l n ʾ š r š t*)
18. BETH SHEMESH OSTRACON (*ḥnn nʾm g lʾz ʾ ḥr sbʾ bt yn ʾm ʾmt*)
19. SAREM SHERD (*m š š ʾ*)
20. HALIF JAR HANDLE (*lnšt*)
21. AKKO HANDLE (*kt*)
22. TEL AVIV JARS (*g ṯ l m š*)
23. ZAREPHATH SHERD (*ld ʾhy*)
24. HAZOR SHERD (*lyṯ*)

25. RADDANA JAR HANDLE ('*dr*)
26. KHIRBET TANNIN SHERD ('*š . .*)
27. QUBUR EL-WALAYDAH BOWL ('*šmp' l y' l š . .*)
28. JERUSALEM SHERDS ('*k , kpr, q*)
29. MANAHAT SHERD ('*šdlb*)
30. CYLINDER SEAL ('*šbl 'rny*)

GEZER

Gezer holds a central position in the history and geography of the alphabet, located midway between Jerusalem and the sea, and equidistant from Shechem in the north and Lachish in the south. Gezer and Lachish are the most important sources of information (meagre though it is) on the beginnings of the alphabet in Canaan. If we first consider the potters' marks on the inscribed Gezer jars (securely dated to the 16th century B.C.E.), we will have an opportunity to review my proposed system of values for the proto-alphabetic pictograms.

01. GEZER JARS










































































































































Location. In storerooms in Gezer's southern gate area (Field IV), in Stratum XVIII, dated to the latter part of the 16th century (the end of the Middle Bronze Age), and in one case (21) in Stratum XIX, end of the 17th century (Seger 1983: 477, 481).

Description. Inscribed storage jars, each with one or two signs on the shoulder, engraved before baking; total number of signs, 24.

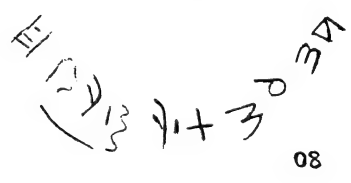
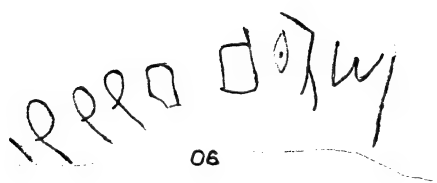
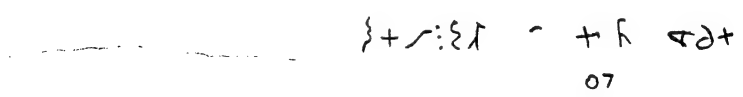
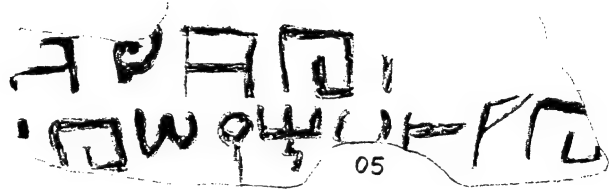
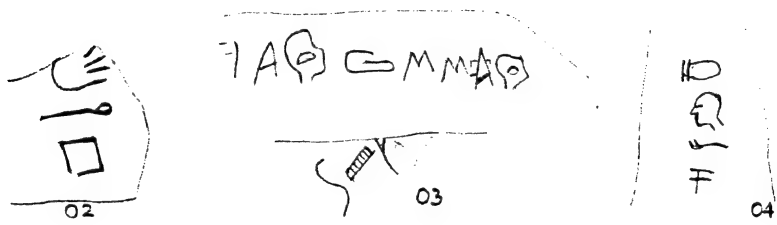
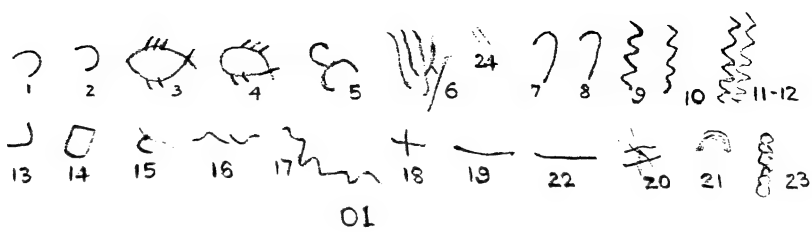
Drawings. Seger 1983: 484 (1-4), 486 (5-8), 488 (9-16), 492 (17-23); Puech 1986: 191.

Interpretation. Seger 1983: 478-481; Puech 1986: 195-196.

' : 'Aleph ('*alp*, ox, Colless 1988: 33) does not seem to be represented, unless an ox-head (upright or inverted) is to be discerned in the conglomeration of lines in 20. For a clear pictogram see 25: the Raddana jar handle; for the sign lying on its side, see 07: the Lachish ewer, 17: the Hesi potters' marks, and the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6); for inverted examples see 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, 23: the Zarephath jar sherd, 27: the Qubur el-Walaydah bowl; there are possibly two cases on 03: the Shechem plaque, and

Y V	SINAI	CANAAN	PHOENICIA	GREECE	ARABIA	EGYPT
α	 alep ox		 Hebrew א Alep	 Αλφα		 F1 ox
B	 bayt house		 Bet	 Βητα		 O1 house
G	 gaml boomerang		 Gimel	 Γαμμα		 T14,15 boomerang
D	 dalt door		 Dalet	 Δελτα		 O31 door
H	 hll jubilate		 He	 Ηε Εψιλον Δυγαμμα		 A28 jubilate
W	 waw hooch		 Waw	 Υψιλον		
Z	 zayp eyebrow		 Zayin	 Ζητα		 D13 eyebrow(s)
H	 hagr court		 Het	 Ητα		 O6 enclosure
H	 bayt thread					 V28 hank
T	 tab good		 Tet	 Θητα		 F35(nfr) good
Y	 yad hand		 Yod	 Ιωτα		 D36 forearm
K	 hap palm		 Kap	 Καππα		 D46 hand
L	 lamd good		 Lamed	 Λαμβδα		 S38,39 crook
M	 maym water		 Mem	 Μυ		 N35 water
N	 nahš snake		 Nun	 Νυ		 I10 cobra
S	 samb fish		 Samek	 Ξι		 K1 fish
c (G)	 cayn eye		 Ayin	 Ομικρον		 D4 eye
P	 pu mouth		 Pe	 Πι		 D21 mouth
S (Z)	 sarör bag		 Sadē	 (Σαν)		 V33,34 bag
Q	 qaw line		 Qop	 (Qoppa)		 V24 cord
R	 raš head		 Reš	 Ρω		 D1 head
S (T)	 šamš sun		 Sin Šun	 Σιγμα		 N6 (raš) sun
T	 taw mark		 Taw	 Ταυ		 (X) (Z9 divide)

PROTO-CANAANITE INSCRIPTIONS





09



10



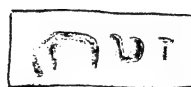
11



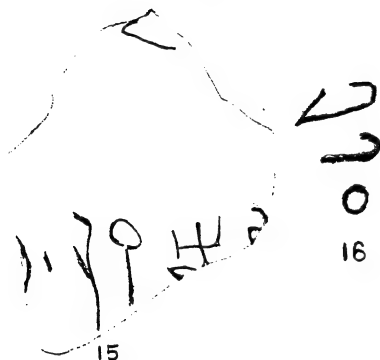
12



13



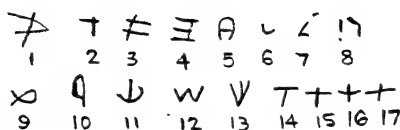
14



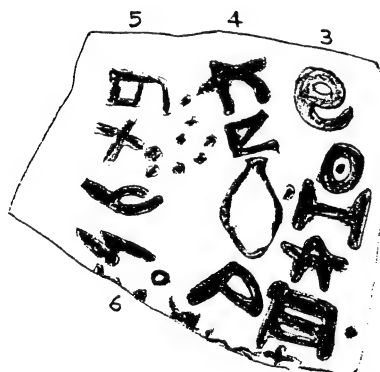
15



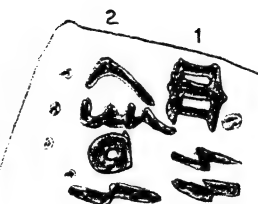
16



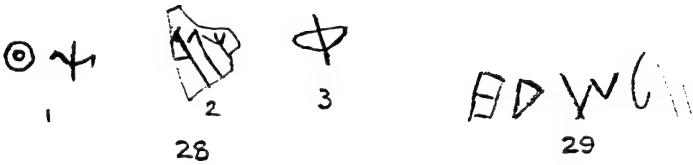
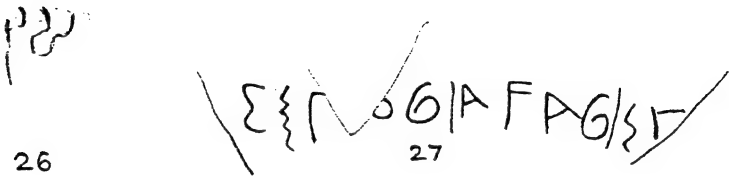
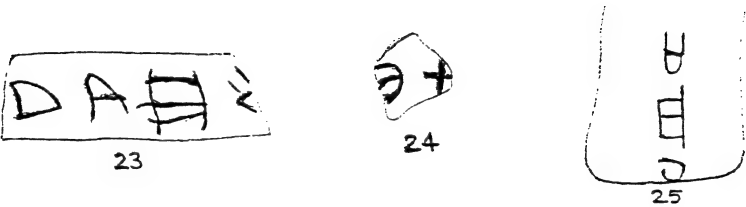
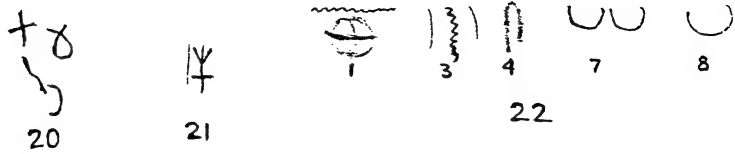
17



18



19



perhaps also on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd (but these could be read H, with the horns of an ox as the remnant of 'alep in the second line).

B: *Bet* is represented by the ground-plan of a house, usually a simple square (Colless 1988: 33); the one example here is 14 (so Seger and Puech); it is not a square, like the B on the Gezer sherd, but rather a closed rectangle with a slightly rounded base; these two features allow the possibility that it is H (*ḥasir*, court, Colless 1988: 40), but a dividing line would be expected across the middle of the sign, marking off the house from its courtyard (see H below). For the development of B, whereby one side of the square becomes a diagonal (a feature already found in the sign for *ba* in the Byblos syllabary, alongside its monumental form of a square or upright rectangle; Mendenhall 1985: 26), see 08: the Lachish bowl, and possibly 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (line 4). The Lachish bowl sherd (05) has three examples of a different form, which corresponds to Egyptian hieroglyph O4 (field-house); the B on the cylinder seal (30) is apparently in the same tradition (and perhaps also on the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, line 5). The Izbet Sartah sherd has a curved B (Sass 1988: table 6). The Lachish censer lid (09) seems to have a remnant of a square B, and likewise 03: the Shechem plaque (beneath the second "A"). The Lachish sherd (10) has a square with one side missing.

G: *Gimel* is a boomerang (*gaml*, throw-stick, Colless 1988: 33) and possible examples are Gezer jar signs 1 and 2 (so Puech, but Seger suggests P, mouth), both very rounded and in a slanting position; 13 (so Seger), not so rounded and not slanting; 21 (so Puech), similar to 1 and 2 in shape, but made up of many lines, suggesting a head covered in hair, hence perhaps R (*ra'š*, head); cp. also 22: Tel Aviv jar 8. Other examples can be seen on 12: the Ajjul cup, 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, and the Izbet Sartah sherd (Sass 1988: table 6), and possibly 11: the Lachish bowl fragment. The second of the Hesi potters' marks (17) seems to be G (cp. also 6 and 8).

D: *Dalet* was originally a door (*dalt*, door, Colless 1988: 35), rectangular, with a jamb, and often also with slats; it eventually became triangular, the characteristic shape of Delta. There are no cases of D on the Gezer jars (Seger accepts the fish as D, *dag*, but see S below). For the door pictogram see 25: the Raddana jar handle,

and possibly 06: the Lachish ostrakon (without slats), and 03: the Shechem plaque (with six panels; cp. the door hieroglyph depicted by Gardiner, 1916: 6, which is divided into eight parts); for the rounded D see 12: the Ajjul cup, and 23: the Zarephath jar sherd; for the Delta form (inverted) see 29: the Manahat sherd; and perhaps 11: the Lachish bowl fragment; the Izbet Sartah ostrakon has a rounded example and also an inverted triangle (Sass 1988: table 6).

H: *He* began as a person with arms raised in jubilation (*hll*, jubilate, Colless 1988: 35-36); see 15: the Tell Nagila sherd, and 05: the Lachish bowl sherd. The body was eventually deleted, leaving the head and arms, and the character was then drawn vertically, to produce E (Epsilon), as on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6, two examples; cp. 17: Hesi potters' mark 4). There are no examples from Gezer.

W: *Waw* (*waw*, hook, Colless 1988: 36-37) was originally a circle on a vertical stem, like the Q of the Phoenician alphabet; Q was at first distinguished from W by an additional stroke on the top of the circle (see Q below). In the Phoenician alphabet, the circle of W opens out, while the Q loses its top stroke (hence, in effect, the W-sign becomes the Q-sign). Examples of the original Waw are found on 15: the Nagila sherd, and 05: the Lachish bowl sherd.

Z: The origins of the letter *Zayin* are very obscure. In the Sinai proto-alphabetic inscriptions it appears as a pair of parallel lines, which may be an imitation of the Egyptian eyebrow hieroglyph, in which the two (curling) eyebrows are placed one above the other (hence perhaps *ẓayp*, eyebrow, Colless 1988: 37-38). In the Phoenician alphabet the two lines are joined by a stroke, as on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (cp. 17: Hesi potter's mark 3), and possibly on 09: the Lachish censer lid. In the maze of lines on Gezer 20, there is a pair of horizontal lines, which might be Z. To the far right of jar sign 6 (K), there is a pair of oblique lines (sign 24), possibly representing Z.

H: *Het* began (in my view) as a picture of a house with a courtyard (*ḥašir*, court, Colless 1988: 38-41); it had a rectangular shape, and was divided at the centre by a line; the house could be divided into two rooms, and the courtyard could have a rounded wall; there are pictographs from Sinai (Colless 1990: inscriptions 11 = 380, 13 = 361, 14 = 360, 24 = 353, 29 = 356), and stylized charac-

ters from Canaan, with legs (18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon has two examples, 08: the Lachish bowl has one, and 05: the Lachish bowl sherd has two possible pictographic cases). The Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6) and the Manahat sherd (29) have a divided oblong for H, similar to the original pictograph.

H: The H sign did not survive into the Phoenician alphabet, but it has generally been recognized in the Sinai texts as a hank of thread (*ḥayt*, thread, Colless 1988: 38-41). In the Canaan inscriptions, H can apparently function also as Ḥ, as in the Phoenician and Hebrew alphabets (see below, on the interpretation of 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, 08: the Lachish bowl, and 05: the Lachish bowl sherd). However, Gezer jar sign 23 could well be Ḥ (so Seger and Puech).

T: *Tet* is a rare letter, found once in the Sinai inscriptions as a cross attached to the left side of a circle (Colless 1990, text 23 = 351), and as a cross inside a circle on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6); cp. the similar character among the Tel Aviv jar signs (22.1). The Sinai character would be a borrowing of the Egyptian hieroglyph symbolizing *nefer* "good" (hence *ṭab*, good, Colless 1988: 41-42). My earlier idea that the first letter on the Lachish dagger is T (Colless 1988: 59) will be rejected here.

Y: *Yod* started out as a hand with its forearm (*yad*, hand, Colless 1988: 42), viewed from the side (to be distinguished from *Kap*, a hand without forearm). It could be horizontal (18: Beth Shemesh ostrakon, 03: Shechem plaque rear?), vertical with the digits at the bottom (07: Lachish ewer?, 06: Lachish ostrakon?), or at the top (03: Shechem plaque front?, 15: Nagila sherd, 08: Lachish bowl, 05: Lachish bowl sherd, 27: Qubur el-Walaydah bowl, 23: Zarephath sherd, and the Izbet Sartah ostrakon, Sass 1988: table 6). The cylinder seal (30) has a form with a curved elbow, as also Gezer jar sign 5 (so Seger and Puech). For another possible type, rounded in form, see 11: the Lachish bowl fragment, 14: the Ajjul jug, and 17: Hesi potters' mark 11.

K: *Kap* was a hand, armless and usually facing the viewer (*kap*, palm of hand, Colless 1988: 43-44), excellent examples being found on 02: the Gezer sherd, and Gezer jar sign 6 (so Seger, though Puech has doubts). The hand on 03: the Shechem plaque is horizontal, as with some Sinai examples (Colless 1990: texts 25 = 354, 10 = 379, 11 = 380). The hand on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon is upraised, with a

wrist and three stick fingers (Sass 1988: table 6), like numerous examples from Sinai (Colless 1990: texts 16=363, 37=364, 38=382); see also 21: the Akko handle. The Ajjul handle (13) has an example with three stick fingers and no wrist, as in the Phoenician alphabet; see also 17: Hesi potters' mark 13, and the sign on the Tell Beit Mirsim sherd (Sass 1988: fig. 274).

L: For *Lamed* (**lamd*, Colless 1988: 44) a shepherd's crook seems to be the original pictograph, as with Gezer jar signs 7 and 8 (so Seger and Puech) and 16: the Hesi sherd (cp. 17: Hesi potters' mark 7?); it tended to curl in on itself, as on 08: the Lachish bowl, 07: the Lachish ewer, 06: the Lachish ostrakon (three examples in a row), 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, 27: the Qubur Walaydah bowl, and the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6). However, it is more open, and even angular in the Phoenician, Greek, and South Arabian alphabets, and on 29: the Manahat sherd.

M: The Egyptian hieroglyphic water sign was borrowed for *Mem* (*maym*, water, Colless 1988: 44-45). Its five waves were eventually reduced to two (as perhaps already on 03: the Shechem plaque), and it could be vertical (22: Tel Aviv jar 3, 07: Lachish ewer, 08: Lachish bowl, 19: Sarem sherd, 27: Qubur el-Walaydah bowl). Gezer jar signs 9, 10, 11-12 (side by side) are more vertical than horizontal (all accepted as M by Seger and Puech); sign 17 (understood as N, a snake, by Seger and Puech) could well be another M, since it has more bends than is normal for the serpent sign.

N: *Num* was represented by a snake (*naḥaš*, serpent, Colless 1988: 45), usually with two bends, as in the Egyptian cobra hieroglyphs (I10, I12) and in the Phoenician, Greek, and Roman alphabets (cp. the rear of 03: the Shechem plaque). There are four horizontal versions of N on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon. But there are cases where the reptile is quite straight (see Colless 1988: 53, S.363, with five variations on the possible characteristics: long, short, straight, crooked). The head of the middle sign on 02: the Gezer sherd is too small for it to be either W or L; it is more likely to be N, a short snake, only slightly curved, as on 20: the Tell Halif jar handle. By the same token, Gezer jar signs 19 and 22 could depict a long straight snake, and thus stand for N.

S: *Samek* is a problem, but it would appear that in the proto-alphabet the fish sign represents S (**samē*, Colless 1988: 45-47).

However, the Phoenician S, three cross-bars on a stem, seems to be derived not from a fish but from the Egyptian djed pillar (hieroglyph R11), a symbol of enduring stability (hence *samk*, support?). The same sign occurs in the Byblos syllabary, apparently for the syllable *sa* (Mendenhall 1985: 29). It may be that the similar sign on the Lachish dagger (04) is S. The fish is found on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, in my view, and apparently also in the samek position in the abecedarly of the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Puech 1986: 172; Colless 1988: 46; but not Sass 1988: table 6). Gezer jar signs 3 and 4 are a fish with three dorsal and two ventral fins (S, Puech; D, Seger).

‘: *‘Ayin* was the pictograph of an eye (*‘ayn*, eye, Colless 1988: 47); for a vertical example see 06: the Lachish ostrakon, and 17: Hesi potters’ mark 5. In the Phoenician alphabet it becomes a circle, sometimes with a dot at the centre, as a relic of the original pupil of the pictogram. The round dotted eye occurs twice on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon, and on 19: the Sarem sherd, and a number of times on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6); cp. also 28: Jerusalem sherd 1. On 06: the Lachish ostrakon the eye has a more natural shape, but a vertical stance. There is no pupil in the eye on 30: the cylinder seal, and it may in fact be a mouth (P).

P: *Pe* is a rare letter, and its history remains obscure. The Sinai inscriptions seem to have a mouth for P (*pu*, mouth, Colless 1988: 47-48, and Colless 1990: texts 19=372, 35=358). On the proto-alphabetic cylinder seal (30) there is a pictograph that could be a mouth or an eye. In the Phoenician alphabet, P resembles the original L. A possible explanation is that the mouth took on a vertical stance and one of the lips was removed to avoid confusion with the eye sign (*‘ayin*), leaving one lip and a corner of the mouth at the top of the sign; this is what we seem to see on 27: the Qubur Walaydah bowl and on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6), where in each case P is followed by *‘ayin*, though the bowl is damaged at that point.

Ş: My understanding of the *Şade* pictogram is a tied bag (*şirar*, Colless 1988: 48-49). Numerous examples are found in the Sinai texts (Colless 1990: 01=376, 04=346, 15=371, 19=372, 23=351, 27=350, 39=375; note that Albright, Cross, Puech, and Sass have taken this to be Q, possibly because they have overlooked the extra stroke that distinguishes Q from W; their Ş is one of my K-signs,

with bent fingers). In Canaan it appears (in my view) on 20: the Halif jar handle, 04: the Lachish dagger, and 17: Hesi potters' mark 9 (though here the sign could be a fish). The form in the Izbet Sartah abecedary (Sass 1988: table 6) seems to have the two ends of the tied string at the top and the bag replaced by a vertical line, a development possibly prefigured on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd, and 14: the Ajjul jug. In all its occurrences in the Proto-Canaanite texts it seems to refer only to etymological *š*, not *z* or *d*, whereas in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions there were two instances of words which had *d* in their Arabic cognates: *šrh* "excavation chamber" (29 = 356), *šbtm* "handfuls" (39 = 375).

Q: The *Qop* pictogram is a circle with a vertical stroke at the top and the bottom; it seems to represent a string wound round the middle of a stick (*qaw*, line, Colless 1988: 49-50). In the Izbet Sartah abecedary, Q has this form (Sass 1988: fig. 176-177) though others have disregarded its top stroke (Sass 1988: 175, and table 6), presumably seeing it as an accidental scratch (and this may be so). In the Phoenician alphabet, Q loses the top stroke and takes on the shape of the original W (see the Waw section above). There seems to be no example of Q in the proto-alphabetic texts from Canaan, but there is a problematic case on one of the Jerusalem sherds (28).

R: *Reš* is a human head in profile (*raʾš*, head, Colless 1988: 50). The most pictographic examples, with eye included, are on 04: the Lachish dagger, and on 03: the Shechem plaque, and perhaps also on 08: the Lachish bowl, and on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd. The example on 30: the cylinder seal (cp. 06: the Lachish ostrakon) has a neck but no facial features, and the one on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon is stylized, in the form that R takes in the Phoenician alphabet (cp. 17: Hesi potters' mark 10). The Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: fig. 175-177, and table 6) has this kind of R, to the far right of the abecedary; but in the R position, between Q and Š, it has a circle on a stem (possibly the W that is missing in its place, after H). The bottom letter on 25: the Raddana jar handle seems to be R rather than L. Gezer jar sign 21 looks like a head of hair (as noted under G above) and might be R.

Š: The pictograph is unclear in its reference; it could represent breasts (*šad/šad*) or one of the Egyptian hieroglyphs (with an encompassing serpent) for the sun (*šamš*, sun, Colless 1988: 50-51). In the

Sinai inscriptions, this character is used as Š, Ś, and T; likewise in the Canaan texts, with *ty* "offering" (07: Lachish ewer, and 06: Lachish ostrakon), *tl̥t̥* "three" (08: Lachish bowl), and *tb̥* "return" (05: Lachish bowl sherd), alongside *šm* "name" and *ś* (?) "sheep" (?) (27: Qubur el-Walaydah bowl). A clear example of a horizontal rounded form (predominant in Sinai texts) occurs on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd, and also on 06: the Lachish ostrakon. The vertical stance is illustrated on 30: the cylinder seal, 08: the Lachish bowl, 07: the Lachish ewer, 27: the Qubur el-Walaydah bowl, and also the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6). In the Phoenician alphabet the sign reverts to its horizontal stance and becomes more angular (as already in the Byblos syllabary, Mendenhall 1985: 31; and cp. 17: Hesi potters' mark 12). Gezer jar signs 15 and 16 (both fragmentary) may belong here.

T: *Taw* has always been a cross (*taw*, mark, Colless 1988: 51-52); it usually takes the form of a plus sign, but it can be rotated towards the shape of a multiplication sign. Clear examples occur on 08: the Lachish bowl, 07: the Lachish ewer, 20: the Tell Halif jar handle, on the Gezer storage jars (sign 18, so Seger and Puech), and among 17: the Tell el-Hesi potters' marks (14-17).

The Gezer jar signs can thus be understood as letters of the proto-alphabet: 'Alep (20?), B (14), G (1, 2, 13), Z (24?), H (23), H̄ (14?, more probably B), Y (5), K (6), L (7, 8), M (9, 10, 11, 12, 17), N (19, 22), S (3, 4), R (21), Š (15?, 16?), T (18).

But what do these letters mean? They perhaps indicate the contents (M and MM for water? T for *trš* new wine? H̄ for *hmr*, wine? Y for *yn*, wine? Š for *škr*, beer, or for *ś'r*, barley?); yet the fact that the marks were inscribed before the clay was baked seems to make this view unlikely. Or they might be abbreviations of measures (L for *lg*, log? B for *bt*, bath? cp. *bt lmlk*, royal bath, on an Iron Age storage jar at Lachish, Shea 1978: 80). For the present, they have to be categorized simply as proto-alphabetic potters' marks. They can be compared with the signs found on Late Bronze Age pottery from Tell el-Hesi (see 17 below).

02. GEZER SHERD

Location. Gezer high place (Taylor 1930: 17 and 1931: 28).

Description. Three characters "scratched on a sherd of a typical

cylindrical cult stand of the Middle Bronze Age" (Dever 1987: 171; cp. Albright 1966: 10, sherd from an "offering stand"; Sass 1988: 55, body sherd of "a closed vessel, probably a stand").

Photograph. Taylor 1930 and 1931.

Interpretation. Taylor 1931: 28, and Butin 1932: 200-201 (*bny*); Albright 1935: 28-29; Albright 1948: 12, n. 34 (*bn k* []); Albright 1966: 10 (*k?b*); Cross 1967:10 (*klb* "Caleb"); Dever 1987: 171 (perhaps "Caleb"); Puech 1986:195 ([*klb* []); Sass 1988: 55-56 (*kxb*; perhaps *kwb*); Branden 1979: 234-235 (*knb* "Kanib").

Colless (cp. 1988: 57): *kn b* "temple stand".

The first character (on the left, or at the top, depending on which way the sherd is viewed) is clearly a hand, to be understood as *kap* (not *yad*, a basic flaw in Butin's generally acceptable scheme; see Colless 1988: 43-44, and 64).

The third sign is a square and represents a house (*bayt*; Colless 1988: 33). So there is no doubt about the first and third letters being Kap and Bet respectively.

The middle sign is possibly L (a shepherd's crook, *lamed*), but the head is so small that it seems better to see the pictograph as N (a snake, *naḥaš*, Colless 1988: 45). For cases of N as a straight snake, see Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions 360 and 363 (Colless 1990: 14 = 360, 16 = 363); and more pertinently the possible examples on the Gezer jars (signs 19 and 22).

Whether the text is read as *klb* or *knb*, it could be the name of the donor or of the potter. However, in the light of its context (a cult centre) and the nature of the object on which it is inscribed (an example of the cylindrical terra-cotta stands, "usually fenestrated and topped by detachable bowls", which were "probably used for food and libation offerings, as well as for burning incense", Dever 1987: 167-168), the interpretation *kn b*, "temple stand", seems appropriate.

kn: Hbr. *kēn* "stand"; Exodus 30:18 (bronze stand for a basin, in the sanctuary).

b: the pictogram functions as an ideogram for *bayt* "house", or "temple" (see Colless 1988: 65; Colless 1990: inscription 06 = 347a).

SHECHEM

The ancient site of Shechem lies north of Jerusalem, at Tell Balata. It has yielded one brief Bronze Age text, on either side of the same piece of stone. The two sides have often been studied separately, as the Shechem plaque and the Shechem fragment, but this confusion has now been cleared up (Maisler 1938: 286, n. 39; Driver 1976: 98, fig. 42; Cross 1967: 10, n. 14; Sass 1988: 56).

03. SHECHEM PLAQUE

Description. Broken limestone plaque with (1) a brief inscription alongside a representation of a robed male, and (2) a few more signs on the reverse side.

Photograph. Front: Böhl 1938: pl. 1; Obermann 1938: 241, fig. 1; Sass 1988: fig. 149. Back: Sass 1988: fig. 153.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 198 (note on fig. 42, and note to “fig. 44 A”, which should read “fig. 42.2”); Böhl 1938; Obermann 1938; Maisler 1938: 283-286; Albright 1966: 10-11; Branden 1979: 236-237.

Sass (1988: 56-58): (1)]b d r k t t d r (one of several alternatives).

Puech (1986: 185-187): (1)]b 'rk šš. 'r (2) (l-r) *thy* [. . . or (r-l)]y~~h~~
'rk: noun or personal name?' r: toponym? šš: “byssus, fine linen”?

Colless (contrast Colless 1988: 59, where attempts were made to read the text from right to left; but the downward movement of the signs would indicate that it was written from left to right, hence the following new reading):

(1) y 'r k m m b 'r (2) n d y (t y)

(1) The first Y is visible on the photograph and drawing of Sass; it has an upright stance. The two human heads obviously represent R. The K is unusual: the hand is viewed from the side, with only the thumb and forefinger showing. The double M (Obermann, Maisler, Albright, van den Branden) could well be two cases of inverted Š (Böhl, Sass, Puech), given that the two ox-heads ('alep) are upside down; but the M signs may have been abbreviated here (perhaps because of the exigencies of space, though this is a weak argument if the inscription actually runs onto the other side of the stone). The B is a square, on which the second 'alep has been superimposed; my

proposal is to accept both signs as intended by the scribe, who wishes the 'alep to be read between the B and the R.

(2) The N is depicted differently on the three available drawings of the reverse side, all of which have only three signs (Böhl 1938: 24; Driver 1976: 98, fig. 42.2; Puech 1988: 183, fig. 6.8): only that of Puech can be considered as Š, while the others look like a twisting snake (N). The D is taken to be H by Böhl and Puech; but there are too many compartments in it to qualify as a house with a court (see note on H above); it could, however, represent a door with numerous slats (see notes on D), and it does have a small jamb-line protruding from one corner. The Y is clear. There may be another Y on the other side of the apparent T (a cross), but neither sign is certain, and the true reading may simply be *ndy*.

y'rke mm'r: *y'rke* could be connected with Hbr. *'ārukah* "healing" (new flesh growing over a wound), and *mm'r* could be from the Hbr. and Arb. root *m'r* "break open" (of a wound); but the 'alep is engraved over a square sign, which can only represent proto-alphabetic B; apparently the scribe has altered the spelling of the word from *br* (cp. Hbr. *bōr* "cistern, water pit") to *b'r* (Hbr. *bē'ēr* "well", Ugr. *bīr*, Akd. *bēru*). If this reading (*b'r* "well") is acceptable, then the preceding *mm* would mean "waters" (Hbr. *mēmē*, construct state; cp. Ugr. *mmh* "her waters"), as already suggested by Obermann (1938: 248-250, taking *mm r* as "water, light"); the whole phrase *mm b'r* would then signify "well waters" or "the waters of the well". This would be the subject of the verb *y'rke*, and the simplest interpretation is to take the common Semitic sense of *rke*, "be long", hence:

(1) May the waters of the well be long-lasting.

However, if the writing on the back of the plaque is a continuation of this sentence, then *ndyt(y?)* could be the object of the verb *y'rke* (**nidayataya* "my impurity", accusative case). As for its meaning, we could invoke Hbr. *nīdāh* or *niddāh*, for which Koehler (1958: 596) posits an original **nidayat* (root *ndy*); it refers to "impurity" or "separation" associated with menstruation (Leviticus 15:19-33) and touching dead bodies (Numbers 19:9-21; cleansing was obtained through the "ritual impurity water", *mē niddāh*, containing the ashes of a sacrificed red heifer). The meaning "prolong" for *y'rke* (Hip., "cause to be long") would be inappropriate, but "heal" (as noted above) would be suitable. The Talmud (Sabb. 33b) has an Aramaic

example of *rk* used for cleansing a person in a bath. Hence the possible but problematic translation:

(1) May the well-waters cleanse (2) (my) impurity.

If, however, *ndy* is the correct reading, then this could mean “my leather-bottle” (Hbr. *nōd* , Akd. *nādu*).

LACHISH

Located at Tell ed-Duweir (Tel Lakhish), south of Gezer and Beth Shemesh, west of Hebron, close to Tell el-Hesi and Tell en-Najila, this ancient city has yielded more proto-alphabetic inscriptions than any other site in Canaan. On the impressive weight of this evidence it is tempting to surmise that the alphabet was invented at Lachish, and transmitted throughout Canaan and Sinai from that central point; but this hypothesis remains totally conjectural.

04. LACHISH DAGGER

Location. Tomb 1502 (Tufnell 1958: 127-131, D. Diringer)

Description. Short inscription on the blade of a bronze dagger, dated around 1600 B.C.E.

Photograph. Tufnell 1958: pl. 42; Driver 1976: pl.41; Sass 1988: fig. 141.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 198 (note on fig. 43), a summary of earlier views.

Sass (1988: 53-54): *x r n x*

Albright (1966: 10), followed by Puech (1987: 13):

trnz Turranza (Hurrian name attested at Alalakh and Nuzi)

Lundin (1986) likewise finds a Hurrian name, Arnuzu, preceded by *lamed* , preposition *l* “belonging to”.

Branden (1979: 235-236) has *grn* , Ġayrān, a personal name (Ugr., Sabeen).

Colless (1988: 59): *trns*

The S is not a fish but a support (*samk*), as in the Phoenician alphabet and the Byblos syllabary; it might be Z (a pair of parallel strokes), but Z is not attested with a vertical stem. The top letter is not a likely T (Egp. *nefer* sign); rather, the two vertical strokes might

represent the string that ties the bag, hence the value $\$$ (see the notes on $\$$, above).

Colless (new interpretation): $\$r ns$ Foe flee.

$\$r$: “adversary” (Hbr. $\$ar$, Akd. $\$erru$, Ugr. $\$rt$).

ns : “flee”, imperative mood, root nws (Hbr.).

The text would be a charm against enemies, if this interpretation were correct.

05. LACHISH BOWL SHERD

Location. Pit 3867, Level VI, Area S (Ussishkin 1983: 155).

Description. Two lines of inscription in black ink on a piece of a broken bowl; the bowl was definitely inscribed before it was broken, and the text is incomplete.

Photograph. Ussishkin 1983: pl. 40; Puech 1986: pl. 2; Sass 1988: fig. 165.

Interpretation. Ussishkin (1983: 155-157), cp. Sass (1988: 62-63):

(1) H L H B. (2) - B $\$$ W/Q H Q G/P R B [

No translation was attempted. His H seems the best choice for the sign that others will take to be ʾAlep , in spite of its square shape.

Cross (1984: 71):

(1) (l-r)] ʾl^b . (2) (r-l)] $bys^c hwšb$ [

(1)] ʾil^b (the divine ancestor) (2)] in the gallery he installed (it) [

Puech (1986: 180-182; 1987: 20-21):

(1) (l-r)] $\text{ʾl}^b w$ [$\$$] m [$\$$... (2) (r-l)] $byt. whwšb$ [(3) ...

(1) Il ʾab and [She]me[sh... (2)] temple and he installed.[... (3) ...

In support of this interpretation, Puech invokes known connections between the god Ilab and the sun god Shamash.

Whether the sequence $\$m\$$ is there or not, my interpretation of the second line indicates the rising and setting of the sun, and the name in the first line belongs to another solar deity. My new reading of the text is based on the knowledge gained from the Sinai proto-alphabetic texts, with regard to the deities named and the writing system used.

Colless (differs from Colless 1988: 60):

(1) (l-r) $hrhb$ | (2) (r-l) $bys^b hwšb$ [b]

(1) Kharkhab (2) in his going forth and [his] returning

$hrhb$: name of a male deity, characterized in Ugr. mythology as “the king of summer (fruit)” ($hrhb mlk q\check{x}$, 24.2); in the Sinai

inscriptions, the garden attached to Mine L is designated as *gn ḫrḫb*, “Garden of Kharkhab” (Colless 1990: text 26 = 355, bearing the sun-disk symbol), and also as *gn šmš* “Garden of Shamash” (Colless 1990: text 24 = 353); it is possible that Kharkhab and Shamash are the same solar deity, and if Puech’s additional *wšmš* were correct the resultant reading here (Kharkhab-Shamash, *ḫrḫb w šmš*) would perhaps be a double name, like Ugr. Kothar-Khasis (*kṯr whss*, 2.4.7) and Nikkal-Ib (*nkł wib*, 24.1). Sass states that the space to the right of the upper line is blank, but he countenances the possibility that it was originally inscribed, and that the vertical stroke is the remaining trace of this. The H (for Ḫ) is the house-and-court pictogram; the second example seems to have its courtyard wall at the bottom, and this could be true of the other one also; but even without this line a case could still be made for its identity as H; although the possibility of its being ’Alep can not be excluded, I would find an example of the ox-sign in line 2. The B, of which there are two more examples in the next line, is certain (see the notes on B, above). The R is problematic; this incomplete sign could indeed be a curling L, but it could also be a human head with an eye (for the low position of the eye, cp. the two examples on 03: the Shechem plaque), and perhaps also with a neck. The possible W after the name is unclear, but it might be the same as the example in the next line, or it might be a word divider.

byšb: “in his going forth”; preposition *b* “in”, attached to infinitive of *yš* “go out”, with suffixed pronoun *-b* “his”; the usual form of the infinitive construct for this verb is seen in Hbr. *šē’t*, in Akd. *šīt šamši*, “sunrise”, and in Ugr. *šāt špš* “sunrise”; but there is apparently another possible form, seen in Ugr. *b.yšib* “in his going out” (2116.9; Gordon 1965: 413 and 29*); note also Phn. *yš’ šmš* “sunrise” (Fuentes Estañol 1980: 132); cp. Hbr. *yāšō*, infinitive absolute, found in the description of the raven repeatedly going out from Noah’s ark and returning (Genesis 8:7): *wayyēšē’ yāšō’ wāšōb* (these are the two verbs found in my reading of line 2 of the inscription). The Y is reasonably certain, as an arm with its hand at the top, and the H is very clear and pictographic (see notes on H, above). Only the rounded horns of an ox (as in Ussishkin’s drawing) remain on the defaced ’Alep (’Ayin for Cross, W for Puech; their version of ’Alep is in line 1). The Š is accepted by Cross, who compares what he sees (a horizontal stroke meeting a vertical stroke)

with the forms on the El-Khadr arrowheads and the Izbet Sartah abecedar; but it is possible that the sign represents a bag, tied at the left of the pictogram.

wsbb: “and his coming back”; *w* “and”, with infinitive of *šwb* “return” (Hbr.; Ugr. *twb*), and pronominal suffix *-b* “his”; one “arm” of the H remains.

This interpretation could indicate that the inscribed bowl was used in connection with the worship of a solar deity at sunrise and sunset.

06. LACHISH OSTRACON

Location. The area of the Fosse Temple (Tufnell 1940: 55).

Description. Jug fragment (Sass 1988: 99), with inscription (Sass 1988: 100, “Pseudo-inscription?”) in black ink, on the inner side (Tufnell 1958: 130, Lachish Bowl No. 2)

Photograph. Tufnell 1940: pl. 29.12; *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 1934: pl. VIII.3; Sass 1988: fig. 258.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 198 (note on fig. 48); Th. Gaster, in Tufnell 1940: 55-57.

Puech (1987: 15-17, and fig. 1.5):

| šy ° b r lll |

an offering (or: a sheep) he had offered to (l) Ll (Night?, Luli?)

Colless (following the drawing of Puech):

| šy ° d r lll |

An offering of the flock (or: of °Adr) to Lel (Night).

šy: Hbr. *šāy*, “tribute” (Isaiah 18:7; Psalm 68:30), Ugr. *šy* (Gordon 1965: 502); cp. also the Lachish ewer. The Š and the Y are both recognizable, the Š is asymmetrical, like the example on the Manaḥat sherd (29 below; Sass 1988: fig. 216-217).

°dr: “flock, herd”, Phn. *°dr*, Hbr. *°ēder*; or else the personal name of the donor, Hbr. *ēder* or *eder*. The °ayin is small and clear. The R is probable, as a human head; but B is faintly possible, as a misshapen house (giving *°db* “prepared”). The middle sign has one side of its rectangle extended with a vertical stroke, creating a door-jamb, and hence it is probably D (*dalt* “door”) rather than B (*bayt* “house”).

lll: “to Lēl”, or “to the Night-goddess”, or “for the night”; on Lēl as a goddess, see Puech 1987: 16. Here we have three cases of the same letter in a row, most likely L, rather than W.

This document seems to be an ostrakon, inscribed after the bowl was broken: the writing is on the inside, and its proposed meaning would refer to an animal, not to the bowl (contrast the Lachish ewer as presumably being itself the *šy* to the goddess named).

07. LACHISH EWER

Location. Fosse Temple II (Tufnell 1940: 49-54)

Description. Ewer with a red-painted inscription on its shoulder, also decorated with plants and animals (Tufnell 1958: 130).

Photograph. Cross 1979: fig. 4 and 5; Sass 1988: fig. 158-160.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 199 (note on fig. 49 C), summary of previous opinions.

Cross (1954: 19-21; 1967:16*) followed by Sass (1988: 60-61):

(l-r) *m t n . š y [l r b] t y ' l t*

Mattan (or: a gift) . An offering for my Lady Elat.

Puech (1986: 179-180; 1987: 17-18):

m t n . š y r [b] t y ' l t r [š] p

Mattan. An offering to my lady Elat and Reshef.

van den Branden (1979: 244-245):

m t n : š y š y ' l t . . . Mattan: Don, ordre d'Elat.

Colless (1988: 60, following the reading of Cross):

m t n : š y [l r b] t y ' l t

A gift: an offering [to] my [la]dy Elat.

mtn: either "a gift" (Ugr. *mtn*, Hbr. *mattān*), referring to the ewer, or "Mattan", the personal name of the donor.

šy: "tribute", cp. also 06: the Lachish ostrakon.

lrbty 'lt: "to my lady Elat", cp. Ugr. *rbt 'trt* "Lady Athirat", also called *ilt* "Elat" ("Goddess").

08. LACHISH BOWL

Location. Tomb 527 (Tufnell 1958: 129).

Description. Bowl with writing in white paint, on the outside (Lachish Bowl No. 1).

Photograph. Yeivin 1937: pl.III, fig. 1 and 2 (which together give the full picture); Sass 1988: fig.167.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 199 (note to fig. 49 A), summary of earlier opinions.

Puech (1986: 179; 1987: 18), Colless (1988: 60):

(r-l) *b š l š t / y m / y r ḥ / . .*

On the third day of the month ...(name or number)

Puech is following the reading of Bauer and Dussaud (after Diringier, in Tufnell 1958: 129); the first half of the text (*bšlšt*) is not in doubt (so Yeivin 1937: 180-184; van den Branden 1979: 243; Sass 1988: 63-64), but the rest is faded. Puech makes a good case for the plausibility of the reading *ym / yrḥ* "day of the month".

09. LACHISH CENSER LID

Location. Tomb 216.

Description. Lid of a censer, or "a footed pottery pyxis" (Sass), with writing in red paint on the under side, inscribed after firing, dated to the Late Bronze II period, 14th century B.C.E. (Tufnell 1958: 128, 232-235).

Photograph. Tufnell 1958: pl.44.1, 47.5; Sass 1988: fig. 261.

Interpretation. Sass (1988: 100): "the inscription has faded beyond recognition".

Puech (1987: 17; drawing, p. 14, fig. 1.4) finds *b'l* "Ba'al" and *yrḥ* "month".

Colless (reading from top left to top right, around the edge):

z l b y t This (is) for the temple.

The word *bayt* "house" appears as *byt* in Hbr. and Old South Arb. inscriptions, but it is transcribed as *bt* in Ugr. and Phn. texts, and on the Gezer sherd simply as B (ideogram); note, however, that Puech sees a case of *byt* ("temple") on the Lachish bowl sherd (05; my reading is *bys*), and I find *byt* again on the Lachish sherd (10). On the other hand, the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (18) apparently has *bt ynn* (Hbr. *byt ynn* "wine house").

The Z and the Y are reasonably certain; the T (a small cross) is possible; there is a right angle that could be a relic of a B; the proposed L is either obliterated along the edge, or else it stands between and below the Z and the B (among the marks from which Puech constructs Ba'al).

The inscription is certainly illegible, but as reconstructed here it appears to be a dedication of the object to a temple, though it was actually found in a tomb. It thus receives the same interpretation as the Lachish sherd (10, see below).

10. LACHISH SHERD

Location. Palace A , north-east corner, in the casemate fill.

Description. Small inscribed sherd, with three or four signs (Lachish Sherd No. 7).

Photograph. Not available; drawings provided in Tufnell 1958: pl. 44: 7; Puech 1987: 14, fig. 1.2; Sass 1988: fig. 161.

Interpretation. D. Diringer (Tufnell 1958: 131): *l ' w t*

Yadin (1959: 130-131), Puech (1986: 184-185; 1987: 13-15):

b ' l t Ba'alat

This assumes that the text is incomplete (only one line of the square B remains, and part of the loop of the L is broken off).

Accepting it as three complete signs, and one incomplete (cp. Sass 1988: 61-62):

[*l*] *b y t* [for] the temple

bayt "house", cp. my hypothetical reconstruction of the marks on the Lachish censer lid as *lbyt* "for the temple". Puech (1987: 15) points out that his reading *b'lt* suggests a link with the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions, where this goddess is frequently named; he notes that Lachish and the Sinai mines had the common features of metallurgical equipment and Semitic proto-alphabetic inscriptions.

Nevertheless, my proposed reading is *l b y t* "for the temple" (or "for the palace"), indicating the purpose or destination of the object (a jug?).

11. LACHISH BOWL FRAGMENT

Location. Main hall of the Late Bronze Age temple (Ussishkin 1978: 20-21).

Description. Red-painted rim fragment of a decorated pottery bowl, with remnants of three or four signs (Ussishkin 1978: 20, fig. 5; Sass 1988: 96, "cannot be deciphered").

Photograph. Ussishkin 1978: pl. 9.2; Sass 1988: fig. 242.

Interpretation. Ussishkin (1978: 21): right-hand letter is T; the other two could be B, D, or R (all contain a triangle).

Ahlström (1983: 47): *gdy* (divine name, "my Gad").

Puech (1986: 177; 1987: 17): *pty* (personal name) or *gdy*.

Colless: *g d y* (cp. 12: the Ajjul cup, where the same sequence occurs).

TELL EL-‘AJJUL

The mound of Tell el-‘Ajjul was excavated by Flinders Petrie from 1930 to 1934, on the assumption that it was ancient Gaza; later Beth Eglaim was suggested as its identity. There are three Bronze Age documents from this city: a cup, a jar handle, and a jug with an enigmatic seal impression.

12. AJJUL CUP

Location. Tomb 1109 in the 18th-Dynasty cemetery (16th-14th century); now in the Institute of Archaeology, University of London (see Sass 1988: 101).

Description. Cup (about 11 cm in diameter) with handle and (broken) spout, and a painted inscription.

Photograph. Sass 1988: fig. 269-270; for a drawing of the text see Sass 1988: fig. 267 (after Petrie 1932: pl. XXX: 37A5).

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 198 (note on fig. 46), citing Gaster (*lyrg*), Böhl (*lyrd*).

Colless: (l-r) *g d y l n*

The large dot on the left side is part of a number of marks which might be the remains of letters. The line on the right could be a snake, and hence N. The L and Y are accepted by Gaster and Böhl, but their R seems less likely to be a head than a door, hence D. The G is also recognized by Gaster. If the L was actually W, we could read *gd ywn* (Hbr. *gad yāwān* "Greek Gad", the deity Tykhe, mentioned in the Mishnah as a toponym); but L is clearly preferable to W here. The god Gad is a reasonable choice for the sequence *gd* (as on 11: the Lachish bowl fragment, see above); *yn* could be a verb or noun; cp. Ugr. *yly*, Arb. *waliya*, *yālī*, "be close, be a friend", and Ugr. *yly*,

Arb. *walīy* “companion”. The meaning could then be (though *ylyn* might have been expected):

Gad be near me/us (or: Gad our companion)

13. AJJUL HANDLE

Location. Tomb 1503, Late Bronze Age II (1400-1200).

Description. Jar handle, with two deeply incised signs.

Photograph. Sass 1988: fig. 272; Cross 1954: 23.

Interpretation. *kt* (*kutu*?)

The K is recognized by Cross (1954: 24) as a three-fingered hand. Sass (1988: 102-103) notes the possibility of reading KT, but rejects it as wishful thinking.

Akd. *kūtu* is a term denoting a kind of container, made of clay or metal, used for storing and serving liquids (and therefore possibly having a spout). Ugr. *kt* is a metal object made by the craftsman god Kothar-Khasis for the goddess Athirat: was it a “stand” (cp. Gibson 1978: 149, “base, pedestal”, root *kwn* ; cp. Hbr. *kēn* “stand”, possibly found on 02: the Gezer sherd), or was it a spouted vessel (Akd. *kūtu*)? That Ugr. *kt* could refer to a container is shown by its occurrence in a list of commodities, alongside *dd* “pot” and *kd* “jug” (Caquot and Masson 1977: 11-12).

The same two signs (KT) appear on 21: the Akko handle. Why would a potter write the word *kt* on the handle of a pot? Perhaps to indicate that it needed a spout to be added before baking?

14. AJJUL JUG

Location. Pit GDV, Middle Bronze II period.

Description. Jug with a seal impression at the base of its handle (Petrie 1952: 19).

Drawing. Petrie 1952: pl. XXVI: 38H2; Sass 1988: fig. 271.

Interpretation. Sass 1988: 102, makes no attempt at reading the signs.

Colless: (r-l) *ṣ r y* Or (l-r) *y r ṣ*

If the drawing is trustworthy, then the large sign on the left is Y, the small sign on the right is Ṣ, and the middle character is R (a head

with its face downwards?). These letters are the constituents of the word *yṣr* “potter”, but they are in the wrong order. The sequence *ṣry* offers either “Tyrian” or “balsam” (“mastic”, Koehler and Baumgartner 1958: 816), or else a personal name.

TEL NAGILA

Tell en-Najila (Tel Nagila) lies just south of Lachish, and one proto-alphabetic fragment has been found there.

15. NAGILA SHERD

Location. Area A, a residential area, dating from around the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (16th century).

Description. Sherd of a jug, with an incomplete inscription, incised before firing.

Photograph. Leibovitch 1965; Sass 1988: fig. 144.

Interpretation. Leibovitch (1965: 229-230): *nhwy*

Cross (1984: 74): *lhwy* Lahwiya (“let it come into being”, “asseverative *la-*” with the volitive form of *hwy* “be”)

Puech (1986: 184):]*lhwy*.y (?)].

Sass (1988: 54-55): (1)]*n* [(2)]*mhwy*.y [

Colless: (1) *l* (or *n*) (2) *ṣ* (?)*hwy* / *y*

The consensus has this as a proto-alphabetic text, and the three clear letters are not *hgy* but *hwy* (presumably the verb “be”), perhaps preceded (in my view) by *ṣ* (Shap’el prefix, or relative pronoun).

TELL EL-HESI

Tell el-Ḥesî lies between Gaza and Lachish, and it offers us a brief inscription and an assortment of potters’ marks.

16. HESI SHERD

Location. “City IV”, end of the Bronze Age (Bliss 1894: 88-89, 133).

Description. Fragment of a carinated bowl, with three signs, incised before firing. The bowl could belong to a Bronze Age type, or it could be an Assyrian palace bowl of the eighth or seventh century

(Sass 1988: 96-97). Puech (1986: 185) says its date should be related to the seal of Amenhotep IV found in the same place, first half of the fourteenth century.

Photograph. Lemaire 1985: pl. IIIb; Sass 1988: fig. 246-247.

Interpretation. Driver (1976: 198 note on fig. 47) cites A. H. Sayce (*bl* "swallow!") and W. F. Albright ("Bela"); Lemaire (1985: 16): *p l* (a name); Puech (1986: fig. 246-247): *b l* (personal name).

The detailed photograph provided by Sass (fig. 247) shows a circle (ʿayin), a crook (L), and a crook with a diagonal line coming from its end (Sass denies that this could be a B, but it looks like a distorted version of the Egp. hieroglyph for house, though it could be a distorted mouth, P in an intermediate form).

If *bl* is the correct reading, and if it is not an error for *bʿl* (Baʿal), then it could be an instruction concerning the contents of the bowl: "swallow" (Hbr., Arm., Arb.).

17. HESI POTTERS' MARKS

Description. Assorted markings on pottery, allegedly from the Bronze Age.

Drawings. Driver 1976: 99, fig. 45.

Interpretation. Driver 1976: 99, 117, and 142-143 (fig. 81).

Driver's sketches have here been numbered for reference, from 1 to 17.

ʿalep: 1 (so Driver). B: not found. G: 2 (so Driver), possibly 6 and 8. D: lacking. H: possibly 4 (so Driver). W: not identified. Z: possibly 3. Ḥ: not attested. Ḥ: not found (or possibly 4). Ṭ: not represented. Y: 11 (cp. 11: Lachish bowl fragment). K: 13 (cp. 13: Ajjul handle and 21: Akko handle). L: possibly 6 and 7 (so Driver). M, N, S: apparently no examples. ʿayin: 5, a vertical eye. P: not found. Š: 9 (tied bag; cp. 20: Halif jar handle). Q: no example. R: 10 (a narrow head). Š: 12 (so Driver). T: 14-17 (so Driver).

BETH SHEMESH

Beth Shemesh lies approximately south of Gezer and west of Jerusalem, on Tell er-Rumeilah, near the village Ain Shems, in the Valley of Sorek.

18. BETH SHEMESH OSTRACON

Location. Residential area in Stratum IV, Late Bronze Age level, destroyed c.1200.

Description. Ostracon with writing on both sides (Grant 1932: 30).

Photograph. Grant 1931: pl. X; Grimme 1935: 271; Yeivin 1937: pl. V; Driver 1976: pl. 42; Sass 1988: fig. 171-174.

Interpretation. Maisler 1938: 290-291, makes suggestions, but leaves it undeciphered.

Grimme 1935: 271-276; the text is to be read boustrophedon; lines 3-6 are a list of names; lines 2-1 are a blessing: *n'm w hnn* ... Huld und Gnade ...

Yeivin 1937: 187-193, and fig. 7; "a list of workmen and the the number of days they worked"; all lines are read downwards (my numbering of the lines are given here):

- (2) 13 (3 dots and a comma) *gm'n* (1) *hnn* 1 (1 dot)
- (5) 12 (2 dots and a comma) *xxxn*
- (4) 15 (5 dots and a comma) *'t* 2 (2 dots) *hzm* (3) *l'q'hx*
- (2) thirteen Gim'an (1) Hānan one
- (5) twelve N (4) fifteen 't, two Hzm (3), for 'Aq'aḥaz

Cross 1967: 17*-19*, and fig.3; "a palimpsest" with only "two clear lines of script on each side", all four lines "containing proper names", and "to be read vertically":

- (3) *l'z'h* (4) *'bškr* (2) *gm'n* (1) *hnn*

Belonging to 'Uzzīah, 'Abīšakr, Gum'ān, (and) Hānnūn.

Puech 1986: 175-177, and fig. 4.5; a list of the recipients of a total of eight jars (*bt*) of wine (*yn*), the numerals being represented by dots:

- (5) *bt yn* 8 (3) *l'z'h* 1 (4) *'h'z* 1 (6) *..h* 1 (2) *šm'n* 4 (1) *hnn* 1

Sass (1988: 64-65):

hnn | *gm'n* ... *l'z'h* [| *bxxr* ...

("The possibility of reading the columns from left to right or boustrophedon should not be ignored".)

Colless (cp.1988: 60-61); Grimme's idea (cp. Sass) that the text is written boustrophedon will be taken up here; lines 1, 3, 5 are read downwards, 2 and 4 upwards, and 6 from left to right:

- (1) *hnn* (2) *n'm g* (3) *l'z'h* (4) *r sb'* (5) *bt yn* (6) *'m mt*

A gracious, pleasant voice: slurring after carousing in the wine shop with a maid.

ḥnn: root meaning “be gracious” (Ugr., Hbr., Phn.); Ugr. verbal noun or infinitive *ḥnt* (Gordon 1965: 398); Hbr. adjectives *ḥannūn* and *ḥōnēn* “gracious”, noun *ḥēn* “charm, grace”; here presumably a noun, “graciousness” (cp. Hbr. qal infinitive *ḥānōn*?). The three signs H N N are acknowledged by all the scholars named above (and also by Albright, 1966: 11).

nʾm: root meaning “be gracious, pleasing” (Ugr., Hbr., Phn.); Ugr. *nʾm*, adjective or noun denoting “goodness, charm, loveliness” (Gordon 1965: 445); Hbr. *noʾam* “grace, kindness”; *nʾm* is found meaning “grace, courtesy” in the Sinai inscriptions (Colless 1990: text 04 = 346). The letters N ʾ M here are recognized by all, but only Grimme has them in that order, and with the meaning “grace”.

g: a complete word, cp. Ugr. *g* (*gu*) “voice” (Gordon 1965: 378); not found in Hebrew, which has only *qōl* “call, sound, voice” (Ugr., Phn., Arm., Akd.). The noun is here qualified by the two preceding words, which are presumably also nouns rather than adjectives, since adjectives normally follow their noun; and if *gu* is feminine (as supposed by Gordon, 1965: 378) then the two qualifiers would need to agree with it in gender (with feminine *-t*). Presumably they are both verbal nouns, as also *lʾz* in the next line. Note that Ugr. *nʾm* can signify “tunefulness of voice” (Gibson 1978: 153), and Hbr. *ḥnn* (piʾel) can be applied to the human voice (Proverbs 26:25, *yěḥannēn qōlō*, “he makes his voice gracious”, referring to a deceiver). The letter G is generally accepted as the reading here, but Grimme has W and Puech has Š (both of which seem improbable).

lʾz: root meaning “speak unintelligibly” (Hbr., Arm.); here a verbal noun; Psalm 114: 1, Egyptians as “a strange-speaking people”; English “slur” covers its connotations, “talk indistinctly” and “speak ill of”; *lʾz* also has the sense of “speak a foreign language”; the idea of “talking with slurred speech” follows on naturally from the word “voice” in line 2, and the reason for the “slurring” is given in the next phrase, “after carousing”. The sequence L ʾ Z is recognized by Grimme, Cross, and Puech, though Yeivin has an unlikely Q for the Z.

ʾhr: “after” (Ugr. *ʾahr*, Hbr. *ʾaḥar*; if this reading is correct, then it shows that the H sign also served for H at this time). Only Cross recognizes the R, a stylized human head; Grimme, Yeivin, and Puech have it as Z, by overlooking the (admittedly obscure) cranium.

sb': "carousing", verbal noun; Hbr. and Arm., "drink to satiety"; Hbr. participle *sōbē* "drunkard" (Deuteronomy 21:20, Proverbs 23:21); cp. Isaiah 56:12: "Let us get (*lqb*) wine (*yayin*) and guzzle (*sb'*) beer (*šēkār*)". My reading S (fish) differs from those of all my predecessors; the B (in line 4) is recognized by Cross (cp. 08: the Lachish bowl); the 'alep is universally acknowledged, though its cross stroke is very high up (cp. the example in line 3).

bt yn: "in the wine-house"; *bt* "house" (Ugr., Phn. *bt*, Hbr. *bayit*); *yn* "wine" (Ugr. *yn*, Hbr. *yayin*); the preposition *b* "in" can fall away before *bayt* "house"; cp. Genesis 24:27, "in the house (*byt*) of my brethren"; for Ugr. cases, see Gordon 1965: 95, notably *tštyñ bt ikel*, "they drink in the eating-house"; the Hbr. form of the term *bt yn* is found in Song of Songs 2:4: "He brought me to the wine-house (*l byt hyyn*) and his gaze (? *dgl*; "banner?") upon me was (with) love". The combination of amorous glance and alcoholic intoxication may be present in lines 5 and 6 of the Beth Shemesh ostrakon. The sequence B T Y N is recognized by Puech (though he interprets it as "jar of wine", Hbr. *bat*, a liquid measure); and Grimme has B Y N, overlooking the T, or rather, using some of it to form M. The B of line 5 differs from the B of line 4 (see notes on B under 01: Gezer jars), but the H of line 1 is not the same as the one in line 3, nor are the two forms of 'alep identical (in lines 3 and 4).

'm: "with" (Ugr., Hbr., Arm.). The 'ayin (between the N of line 5 and the R of line 4) is taken by Puech as merely a large dot, but its smallness is commensurate with the other cramped characters of line 6; the M is a short wavy line underneath it.

'mt: "a maidservant" (rather than truth, elbows, cubits, or mothers, to name some of the Hebrew possibilities); cp. Ugaritic Ba'al's outburst against "a sacrifice where maidservants (*'ambt*) behave lewdly (*tdmm*)" (4.3.21; Gibson 1978: 58); Gibson cites Hillel's saying (*Mishnah, Abot* 2:7): "the more housemaids (*šēpāḥōt*) the more lewdness (*zimmāb*)". The reading ' M T is reasonably clear; Grimme finds the M and T, but he also finds several more signs in obscure places on the ostrakon.

My reading of the text does not account for the dots sprinkled here and there. Could they be punctuation marks, as Grimme supposed, and as employed on the Lachish ewer? Or are they simply doodles?

On this interpretation, the Beth Shemesh ostrakon is about wassailing and wenching: it is a riddle (question on one side, answer on the other), or a ditty to be sung while drinking (Isaiah 24:9) or while trampling grapes (a large number of wine presses have been discovered at Israelite Beth Shemesh, in the Iron Age, and this may have been a wine-making centre in the Bronze Age too).

REHOB

Tell eš-Šarem, in the Beth Shean Valley, is commonly identified as Rehob (Joshua 19:28, 30; 21:31; Judges 1:31); it lies north-east of Shechem and east of Megiddo. Its small contribution to the fund of Proto-Canaanite inscriptions is known as the Sarem sherd, or the Tel Rehov sherd (Sass).

19. SAREM SHERD

Description. Small sherd from a fenestrated stand, engraved (before baking).

Photograph. Sukenik 1945: pl. 2.1; Sass 1988: fig. 178-179.

Interpretation. Sukenik (1945: 15): *m š ' l | l ' m*

Puech (1986: 184, and fig. 6.3, the remains of four vertical lines of writing):

(1) . . . *l m* . . . (2) . . . *' š* . . . (3) . . . *m ' . . .* (4) . . . *l*

Colless: There is a large clear M, two examples of Š (in two different stances, or else one is part of a broken M), and one 'ayin (with perhaps part of another at the top); they are flanked by two strokes (as used to frame the inscription on o6: the Lachish ostrakon). There are no clues to date the inscription (but Puech suggests the fourteenth century). The text could be read boustrophedon, from bottom left to bottom right:

m š š ' .

This same sequence was read by Albright (1966: 21), van den Branden (1979: 203-205), and myself (Colless 1988: text 28 = 352 + 366), in Proto-Sinaitic inscription 352, line 2. Van den Branden extracted from *m š š ' .* the meaning "offrande d'aromates"; this can be supported as follows: Phn. *m š* or *m ' š*, an obscure term, perhaps signifying "gift", or else "statue" (Gibson 1982: 136-138;

Fuentes Estañol 1980: 168-169); Punic 𐤍 "offering of perfumes", cp. Old South Arabic 𐩦𐩣 "incense offerings" (Biella 1982: 548). This is all very problematic, but the object in question was in fact a fenestrated stand, and it may well have been intended for incense offerings; the inscription could have been placed there by the potter to indicate this.

RIMMON

Tell Halif (Tell Khuweilifeh), located in the Negeb, on the border between the hill country and the Shephelah, north of Beer Sheba, is a strong candidate for identification with Biblical Rimmon (Borowski 1988: 25-26). There is no epigraphic evidence to support this, but the discovery of a pomegranate-shaped ceramic bowl from the Iron Age may be linked with the name Rimmon (Hbr. *rimmōn* "pomegranate"). A proto-alphabetic inscription has been found at Tell Halif.

20. HALIF JAR HANDLE

Location. In a bin containing several large storage jars (dated to the end of the Bronze Age, in the thirteenth century), surrounded by a heavy deposit of collapsed mud brick and ash (Seger and Borowski 1977: 160-161).

Description. Four (or three) characters inscribed on the handle of one of the storage jars.

Photograph. Seger 1977: pl. 5B; Seger and Borowski 1977: 161; Shea 1978: 78; Sass 1988: fig. 251.

Interpretation. Three incised letters in Proto-Canaanite script (Seger and Borowski 1977: 160-161); or a "four-letter inscription" (Seger 1983: 477). Sass (1988: 99) denies that it is Proto-Canaanite.

Shea (1978: 78-80): "27 shekels"

Puech (1986: 175): 𐤍𐤕 (part of a name).

Colless: *lnst*, "to be fired".

The cross is surely T (so Puech; Shea has it as a numeral sign). My L and N are seen as one character by Puech, a hand, and hence Y; but they are separate lines, one being a crook and the other a short snake. The remaining sign is a shekel symbol for Shea, and for Puech a *lamed* in which the horizontal stroke crosses the vertical stem; Sass

says that it “bears no resemblance to any Proto-Canaanite letter”; however, it neatly fits into my § category, as a tied bag .

l: preposition, “to” or “for”, with infinitive of purpose (“to be fired” or “for firing”).

nst: nip^{al} infinitive of root *yšt* (Hbr. *yšt* , “kindle”, “set fire to”; but in Hebrew this would be *lhnst*). The potter is marking this jar, or the whole batch, as ready “for firing”. This interpretation would be strengthened if the bricks and ash were indicators of a kiln, as first surmised by Seger (1977: 45), or “part of a potter’s workshop”(Seger and Borowski 1977: 160), and not simply a storage bin.

*AKKO

*Akko is one of the coastal cities, situated south of Tyre. Its contribution is an inscribed jar handle. It may be named in a mysterious engraving on a piece of pottery unearthed in the city of David (see 28: the Jerusalem sherds).

21. AKKO HANDLE

Location. Area B above the rampart, Late Bronze Age setting.

Description. Pottery handle with two incised signs.

Photograph. Dothan 1976: fig. 14; Sass 1988: fig. 273.

Interpretation. Dothan (1976: 9): KT

The reading *kt* is also found on the Ajjul handle (13); see the notes on that text above. It could be a designation of the type of vessel to which the handle was affixed.

TEL AVIV

A Bronze Age cemetery, near Tel Aviv harbour, was found to contain a few examples of inscribed pottery (see Kaplan 1955).

22. TEL AVIV JARS

Drawing. Kaplan 1955: fig. 1.

Interpretation. Pithos No. 3 has a vertical wavy line between a pair of

parallel strokes; this could be M, perhaps indicating that it was a water jar (cp. Gezer jar signs 9-12).

Pithos No. 1 has a continuous wavy line, which would only be decoration, but the large cross within a circle might be an example of the rare letter Ṭ.

No. 4 could be L or P (cp. Gezer jar signs 7 and 8).

No. 8 has a semi-circular sign which could be G (cp. Gezer jar signs 1 and 2), while No. 7 has a double G (or else a single Š).

ZAREPHATH

Zarephath (Sarepta, Sarafand) is on the Phoenician coast, north of Tyre and south of Sidon.

23. ZAREPHATH SHERD

Location. Area II, an industrial area, mainly of potters' workshops.

Description. Jug fragment with an incomplete inscription, painted before firing.

Photograph. Teixidor 1975: fig. 55.1; Cross 1979: fig. 2; Sass 1988: fig. 183. Puech (1986: 172-173) suspects that the photograph is reversed, and so he puts the signs in opposite order on his drawing (fig. 4.3); my drawing follows Puech.

Interpretation. Cross (1979: 97-98):]d 'h k [; Puech (1986: 172):]d 'h y [;

Sass (1988: 71):]d 'h x [.

Colless: [g]d 'h y [G]ad my brother

The script has passed beyond the pictographic stage in this example: Ḥ has legs, the ox-head (A) is inverted, D is almost triangular. The incomplete letter would be Y (as in the Phoenician alphabet).

The text is here reconstructed as naming Gad, the god of fortune, as a kinsman of the devotee; cp. the Lachish bowl fragment (*gdy*) and the Ajjul sherd (*gd yln*).

HAZOR

Hazor (Ḥaṣor) is north of the Sea of Galilee and west of Akko.

24. HAZOR SHERD

Location. Area D2, on the surface (now lost).

Description. Sherd with two signs, painted before firing (Yadin 1959: 107).

Photograph. Yadin 1959: pl. CLX.2; Sass 1988: fig. 184.

Interpretation. Cross and Freedman (1971: 22), Puech (1986: 174), Sass (1988: 71-72), Colless:]/ t [

In this interpretation the L and T are not complete; the L is late and non-pictographic. Possible reconstructions are:

[^ʾ]lt Elat, Goddess (cp. 07: the Lachish ewer);

[b^ʾ]lt Baʿalat, Lady (cp. the reading of Yadin and Puech for 10: the Lachish sherd).

However, as it stands the incomplete L could be a complete Y, as posited on the Ajjul jug (14) and the Lachish bowl fragment (11), and hence perhaps:

[lb]yt “for the temple” (as on 10: Lachish sherd and 09: Lachish censer lid)

ATAROT-ADDAR

ʿAṭarot (Joshua 16:3) or ʿAṭarot-Addar (Joshua 16:5, 18:13) was situated between Bethel and Beth Horon, roughly south of Shechem and north of Jerusalem, and its possible location is at Khirbet Raddana (Aharoni 1971:134), though there is also a Khirbet ʿAṭāra, 4 km SSE of Khirbet Raddana.

25. RADDANA JAR HANDLE

Location. Area III, in an Iron Age room, in debris above the floor (Callaway and Cooley 1971: 14-15).

Description. Fragment of a storage jar handle, inscribed after firing (Sass).

Photograph. Cross and Freedman 1971: fig. 1; Cross 1979: fig. 1; Sass 1988: fig. 155.

Interpretation. Cross and Freedman (1971: 20-22), Cross (1979: 97), Puech (1986: 174), Sass (1978: 58-60): ^ʾh l [(a personal name) Sass suggests W as an alternative to the L.

Aharoni (1971: 130-132): $\text{ʾ} \dot{h} r [m]$ (a clan name, Numbers 26:38)

Yeivin (1972: 79-83): $p d l$ [(a place name, cp. Ginti-Padala)

Colless (cp. 1988: 61): $\text{ʾ} d r$ (a place name, Addar)

ʾ : an ox head, though its straight horns are not perfectly pictographic.

D: a picture of a door, with two panels, and a jamb line projecting at the top and the bottom, comparable with the D on Proto-Sinaitic text 362.

R: a human head, perhaps face downwards, or facing the viewer.

This text raises many problems. It has the appearance of a Bronze Age pictographic inscription, yet it was found in an Iron Age setting. This may have been simply an accident of some kind (the jar continued in use for a few centuries, or the jar handle was long preserved amongst fill or rubbish in some obscure corner). However, an analogy with the Sinai pictographic texts suggests itself. In the proto-alphabetic stage, even though the signs were borrowed from Egyptian hieroglyphs, there was no fixed form for each letter of the alphabet; the “scribe” (whether a miner, a smith, or a potter) would draw the object as he conceived it (ox, house, boomerang, door, snake, fish, and so on), and not follow the conventions of a particular scribal school. The person who inscribed the Raddana handle was possibly an Israelite (recently arrived from Sinai?), who would not feel bound to use the current Canaanite forms of the letters, as represented on the ostrakon from Beth Shemesh, south-west of Raddana. The abecedary on the ostrakon from Izbet Sartah, north-west of Raddana, may have been written by an Israelite, but it fits into the tradition of the Canaanite stylized alphabet, beyond the pictographic stage. It would have been helpful if all the scribes of Canaan had written out the whole alphabet on every document they produced, to show us the forms of the signs they were using.

If $\text{ʾ} dr$ is the correct reading here, then it could be (in preference to Hebrew $\text{ʾ} addir$ “mighty”) the toponym “Addar”, as in $\text{ʾ} A\dot{t}arot$ Addar. It would thus be the name of the town in which the jar was made (cp. the name $gb\dot{n}$ on the well-known jar handles at Gibeon, a few miles south of Raddana). It may be an unnecessary hypothesis, but perhaps Khirbet $\text{ʾ} A\dot{t}ara$ is the town $\text{ʾ} A\dot{t}ar\ddot{o}t$ (Joshua 16:2) and Khirbet Raddana is $\text{ʾ} A\dot{t}r\ddot{o}t$ $\text{ʾ} Add\ddot{a}r$ (Joshua 16:5).

KHIRBET TANNIN

Khirbet Tannin is a small mound, situated a few miles SE of Jenin, roughly W of Beth Shan, N of Shechem, and SE of Megiddo.

26. KHIRBET TANNIN SHERD

Location. On the surface (not datable).

Description. Sherd, probably of a jar, inscribed before firing.

Photograph. Lemaire 1985: fig. a; Sass 1988: fig. 263.

Interpretation. Sass (1988: 100-101): "The incision looks like a meandering line".

Lemaire (1985: 13-15): *š m n* (oil?)

Colless: *š r n*

Reading from right to left, the Š is recognizable, but low-lying; the R is a head, with its crown running along the break-line, as in the drawing of Sass (1988: fig. 262); the N is a long straight snake, but it has a hook at the top (on the photographs), which suggests Y, though it may be the snake's head. The reading *šrn* might refer to the coastal plain of Sharon, to the west of Khirbet Tannin, or a town named Sharon (cp. Aḥituv 1984: 170). However, if we are only looking at the lower half of a broken text, then Lemaire's reading of M for the second stroke from the right becomes compelling, and the left side of the head becomes part of another Š, hence *šmšn* (Shimshon, Samson?) or *šmšy* (Shimshay?).

QUBUR EL-WALAYDAH

Qubur el-Walaydah is in the Negev, to the south of Gaza, near and north of Tell el-Far'ah (South), and west of Beer Sheba. It began as a village in Late Bronze II.

27. QUBUR EL-WALAYDAH BOWL

Location. In a pit with early Philistine pottery, roughly twelfth century.

Description. Pieces of a pottery bowl, with an inscription (broken in the middle and at the end), incised after firing.

Photograph. Cross 1980: fig. 2; Sass 1988: fig. 182.

Interpretation. Cross (1980: 1-4), Puech (1986: 174):

š m p ' l / ' y ' l / š [] Šimipa'al (son of) 'Iyya'el, sheep (or: shekel)...

Sass (1988: 70-71): "its reading is not certain, and alternative interpretations are possible".

Note that the two examples of Š are quite different: the first has curves and the second has angles, suggesting a different letter or a different hand. They both have the vertical stance characteristic of Bronze Age Canaan and Iron Age Greece, as opposed to the horizontal stance of Bronze Age Sinai and the Iron Age Phoenician alphabet. The 'alep has the same stance as on the Shechem plaque (03) and the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (18), as also early Greek Alpha. The incomplete circle would probably have been 'ayin (a typical omikron), and the faint lines emanating from the top and bottom of the circle (which would make it a Q) probably should be disregarded, in favour of Cross's reading of two personal names, šmp'l and 'y'l; but Sass (1988: 71) rightly warns that the three letters occurring at the breaks are all in doubt. Once again we are frustrated by the damaged state of a text, allowing full scope for ingenious reconstructions, but not providing adequate testimony for the development of the proto-alphabet.

The Qubur el-Walaydah bowl inscription stands at the end of the Proto-Canaanite period of the alphabet, with no pictographic features. Unfortunately it only has complete examples of five letters out of the twenty-two, and not one of these has a clear counterpart on the Izbet Sartah abecedary.

JERUSALEM

From Jerusalem, which was a Bronze Age city not far distant from such centres of literacy as Gezer, Beth Shemesh, and Lachish, there are three pieces of engraved pottery which could be considered as proto-alphabetic. From Manaḥat, near Jerusalem, comes a sherd inscribed with early linear alphabetic writing, but found among sherds from the Roman period. Similarly, the Jerusalem sherds can

be fitted into my proto-alphabetic scheme, but they were discovered in Iron Age II levels of the City of David (as late as the sixth century B.C.E), and have been classed as South Arabian.

28. JERUSALEM SHERDS

Location. City of David (Shiloh 1987: 10).

Description. Three pieces of broken pottery, engraved after firing (and probably before the pots were broken).

Photographs. Shiloh 1987: 13, photographs 1-3.

Interpretation. All three are seen as South Arabian personal names, by Maria Höfner (Shiloh 1987: 10-11).

(1) Höfner: *ḥ l l* (made up of *ḥ* with *l* attached to each arm), followed by *ʿayin* or a magic sign which accompanies names.

However, as a Proto-Canaanite text it could be *ʿayin* (rounded, with a pupil, as on the Beth Shemesh ostrakon) and K (a stylized form, as on Proto-Sinaitic inscription 356, understood as *Ṣ* by Sass, 1988: Table 4), hence, from left to right:

ʿ k ʿAkko

(Hbr. *ʾakkō*, Amarna tablets *Akka*, Phn. *ʿk*, coastal city to the south of Tyre). The inscription would indicate the source of the vessel or of its contents.

(2) Höfner: (r-l) *ḥ l y*

As an early Canaanite inscription, we could read the trident sign as K, to produce *kly* (Hbr. *kēlī* “vessel, container”). However, the Y is on the break line and could be R (a head with a long neck), while the L could be G or P, hence perhaps *k p r* (Hbr. *kōper* “pitch, asphalt”, Genesis 6:14; or “henna”, Song of Songs 1:14; or *kēpōr* “bowl”).

(3) Höfner: *d d* (a monogram of two antithetic D signs). Höfner rejects it as Q, because it has an oval shape in the middle, not a circle. It is my contention that the South Arabian alphabet has preserved the proto-alphabetic Q, but this wide sign, with the stem passing through its oval part, is a long way removed from the Egyptian hieroglyph representing a cord wound round a stick (V24).

All three texts remain enigmatic, even more so if Shiloh is right in saying that they are South Arabian but inscribed in Jerusalem itself on locally made vessels in the Iron Age (Shiloh 1987: 14). Yet the

Manahat sherd (29) shows that inscribed fragments of pottery can turn up in strange levels.

29. MANAHAT SHERD

Location. In a rock-hewn burial cave; most of the other sherds were of the Roman period.

Description. Fragment of a storage jar (Sass 1988: 85).

Photograph. Stager 1969; Landgraf 1971: pl. 30; Cross 1979: 118, fig. 7; Sass 1988: fig. 217.

Interpretation. *l š d ḥ*

This reading is generally accepted (“for Shadakh”?). The letters are not proto-alphabetic; they belong to the Iron Age, perhaps the eleventh century.

30. CYLINDER SEAL

Location. Its provenance is unknown (Goetze 1953); commonly called the St. Louis seal.

Description. Cylinder seal with a scene and an inscription.

Photograph. Goetze 1953; Sass 1988 (fig. 252).

Interpretation. Sass (1988: 99): “a pseudo-inscription, probably a late forgery”.

Goetze (1953: 8-11): *ʾprqs:wgbł*. Albright (1966: 11): *šbl ʾrqr*. Cross (1954: 21; 1984: 74): *lbš ʾrqr*. Van den Branden (1979: 241-242): *šbl ḥsr*. Puech (1986: 182): *šbl ʾrqr*. Colless (1988: 59): *šbl ʾrqr*

Puech’s interpretation is very attractive: a personal name with a gentilic, “Shabilu of Irqatu” (who could be the Shabilu of Šumur mentioned in the Amarna letters as seeking the assistance of Abdi-Ashirta of Irqatu). However, the alleged Q will not fit easily into my system; if it is an example of the tied bag (opening out into a stylized form) then it would be Š; but it could be N, a snake with a head and a curved tail. It is not clear which direction the letters run. Do the two bars function as word dividers, hence *šbl* / *yṣr* / “Shabil shall subjugate” (Old South Arabic *ḍr* “defeat”)? Or do they frame the text (as on o6: the Lachish ostrakon?), hence (reading boustrophed-

don) */lbš yšr** / “clothing will be mildewed”? (cp. Leviticus 13:47), or */lbš yn r** / “for the badness of bad wine”, or else (in reverse) *|ʿry šbl* / “my master Shabil”? (Hbr. *ʿārīš*, Ugr. *ʿrā*, “tyrant”)?

The remaining possibility (which seems preferable, if a personal name is to be found there, cp. Albright and Puech) is to see the bars functioning as a kind of hyphen, hence *šbl || ʿny* “Shabil the ʿEranite” (Numbers 26:36; ʿEran was a descendant of Joseph through Ephraim, and cp. Ugr. *ḡrn* as a personal name). If the ovoid sign (ʿayin?) is not an eye (it apparently has no pupil) but a mouth (P, cp. Goetze), then the gentilic could be *pry* “the Paršite” (Numbers 26:20); Pereš was the eldest son of Yehudah (Genesis 38:29), and, as a matter of interest but not of especial significance, Yehudah (38:18) carried a personal seal (*ḥōtām*) on a string (*pātīl*). In the Bible, Šobal is the name of a son of Šeʿir the Ḥorite in Edom (Genesis 36:20, 1 Chronicles 1:38), and a son of Caleb the son of Ḥur (1 Chronicles 2:50).

The Y is very similar to 01: Gezer jar sign 5, because of its curling end (elbow), and this model (published in 1983 by Seger) would not have been available to a modern forger in 1952, when the seal was acquired in London. The B is of the type found on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd, published by Ussishkin in 1983.

Van den Branden (1979: 241) has an illustration to show how the scribe might have engraved both lines horizontally from right to left, but would have inverted the seal before inscribing the second line, and this would have produced a boustrophedon text, beginning with the Š and ending with the ʿayin (as in van den Branden’s interpretation, see above). This view puts the eye in a vertical stance (cp. 06: the Lachish ostrakon), and gives the (inverted) head a long outstretched neck (almost horizontal). My interpretation of the text (*šbl || ʿny*) seems to require the first line to have been inscribed horizontally (though its imprint would run vertically upwards, to the right of the last human figure in the scene), while the second line would have been inscribed vertically downwards (but it would be printed vertically upwards, like the first line). This solution gives all the signs a natural pictographic stance, and would make this text one of the oldest of the proto-alphabetic corpus. It has been placed in last position here because its source is unknown. It would be tempting to

classify this as another 'Ajjul inscription, since Goetze (1953: 9) finds four stylistic parallels to the cylinder at Tell el-'Ajjul.

Goetze (1953: 11) distinguishes three kinds of seal inscription: a wish or prayer (the category to which his own interpretation of this text would belong); a divine name (a divinity might be present in the scene beside the inscription); the name of the owner, with his profession and lineage (this is the most frequent type, and the one to which my interpretation conforms, though the profession of "Shabil the Eranite" is not stated).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From this set of fragmentary documents it is not possible to make any firm conclusions, but in closing we can look back over the readings offered here and compare them with the most recent survey of the proto-alphabetic texts, that of Benjamin Sass (1988). Sass has not produced a decipherment of the texts, but he has rendered an admirable service to all his fellow-workers by providing photographs, drawings, and descriptions of most of the available documents. He is very cautious in his approach; some of the inscriptions accepted for consideration here (01, 09, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 26, 28, 30) are considered dubious by Sass or simply ignored.

Sass and I accept that the Proto-Sinaitic and the Proto-Canaanite inscriptions belong to the same tradition, and that their language is West Semitic. So only our main differences need to be noted here, with regard to recognition of the signs and their sounds. Although he is doubtful about Albright's system of decipherment (Sass 1988: 45-50), he continues to use it in his description, as summarized on his tables 3-5 (180-185):

D is a fish (rather than a door), which eventually becomes a triangle.

S (Samek, represented by the fish in my scheme) is not attested.

H is a door (not the house with a courtyard, which he classes as B or unidentified).

P is an obtuse angle (rather than a mouth).

G is a boomerang, but only the right-angled example; the others represent *p*.

Š is a “plant” with three branches (a form of K in my system).

Q is the 8-shaped sign (my Š, a tied bag; my Q is a cord on a stick).

Ṭ is not attested (my cross-and-circle Ṭ is classed by Sass as unidentified).

From my point of view, all these choices constitute the reason why Sass could not achieve decipherment of the proto-alphabetic texts.

What support for my system can be found in the inscriptions from Canaan? As we reconsider these eight problematic letters, the reader should also refer to my notes on each of them under the rubric Gezer jars (01 above).

D, as a door-leaf with panels, appears on 25: the Raddana handle (*’dr* “Adar?”), and on the rear of 03: the Shechem plaque (*ndyty* “my uncleanness?”). The rounded triangle (which could have developed out of such forms as those on Sinai 357 and 365) is found on 23: the Zarephath sherd (*[g]d* “Gad?”), and the triangular Delta is found on 29: the Manahat sherd (*lšdh*).

S, as a fish (see Gezer jar signs 3 and 4), is possibly found on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (*sb* “carousing”), and on the Izbet Sartah ostrakon. However, if the bottom sign on 04: the Lachish dagger is S (an Egyptian djed pillar), then there were two variant letters in circulation (fish and pillar), before the Phoenician samek (the pillar sign of the Byblos syllabic and alphabetic texts, Mendenhall 1985: 121, and also Table 4) became the standard sign for s.

Ḫ (house and court) does not occur in the clear pictographic form it has in the Sinai texts, unless we can invoke the two cases on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd. The sign has sprouted legs on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (twice), on 23: the Zarephath sherd, and (possibly) on 08: the Lachish bowl, whereas the simple divided rectangle of 29: the Manahat sherd, and also the Izbet Sartah ostrakon (Sass 1988: table 6), is closer to the original.

P is apparently not attested pictographically, as a mouth, though it is possible that the cylinder seal (30) has a mouth rather than an eye.

G is found as an angular boomerang on 18: the Beth Shemesh ostrakon (*gu* “voice”), and in *gd* (“Gad”) on 12: the Ajjul cup and 11: the Lachish bowl fragment.

Š appears as a round bag on 20: the Halif jar handle (*lnšt* “for firing”) and 04: the Lachish dagger (*šr* “foe?”), and in a reduced

form on 05: the Lachish bowl sherd (*yš* '“going out”) and 14: the Ajjul jug (*šry* “Tyrian”?).

Q is not in evidence until the Izbet Sartah abecedary, where it occurs apparently with the archaic stroke at the top. One of the Jerusalem sherds (28) has a problematic Q.

Ṭ is possibly attested on one of the Tel Aviv jars (25), in the form it has in the Phoenician alphabet (a cross inside a circle).

New finds of early alphabetic inscriptions are urgently needed to fill up the serious gaps in our knowledge. Meanwhile, my hypothesis still stands (Colless 1988: 65): there were only twenty-three letters in the pictographic proto-alphabet, as represented in the Proto-Sinaitic and Proto-Canaanite texts, and this number was eventually reduced to twenty-two by the omission of Ḥ. However, S (Samek) may have had two variant pictograms (fish and pillar). The phenomenon of variant signs for the same sounds is attested in the Byblos syllabic inscriptions, where one text uses the familiar wavy line for *mu* (water) while the others have a different sign (Mendenhall 1985: 29).

The pillar samek is already found as *sa* in the Byblos syllabary, and as *s* in the Phoenician linear alphabet of Byblos. A large number of other signs are shared by the syllabary and the proto-alphabet (*ʾalp* ox, *bayt* house, *gaml* boomerang, *dalt* door, and many more). Now that a reasonable table of values has been drawn up for the Byblos syllabary (Mendenhall 1985: 19, table 3, on which most but not all of the allotted values seem acceptable to me), the problem of the relationship between the syllabary and the proto-alphabet (and their derivation from the Egyptian hieroglyphic system) can be taken up with renewed hope of finding a solution.

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aharoni, Y., 1971, Khirbet Raddana and its Inscription. *Israel Exploration Journal* 21: 130-135.
- Ahituv, Sh., 1984, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*. Jerusalem.
- Ahlström, G. W., 1983, Was Gad the god of Tell ed-Duweir? *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 115:47-48.
- Albright, W. F., 1935, The Inscription from Gezer at the School of Jerusalem. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 58: 28-29.

- , 1948, The Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from Sinai and Their Decipherment. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 110: 6-22.
- , 1966, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*. Harvard Theological Studies 22. Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Bliss, F. J., 1894, *A Mound of Many Cities, or Tell el-Hesi Excavated*. London.
- Böhl, F. M. Th., 1938, Die Sichern Plakette. Protoalphabetische Schriftzeichen der Mittelbronzezeit vom tell balāṭa. *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 61: 1-25
- Borowski, O., 1988, The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif. *Biblical Archaeologist* 51: 21-27.
- Branden, A. van den, 1979, Nouvel essai du déchiffrement des inscriptions sinaïtiques. *Bibbia e Oriente* 121 (21, 3): 155-251.
- Butin, R. F., 1928, The Serabit Inscriptions. *Harvard Theological Review* 21: 9-67.
- , 1932, The Protosinaitic Inscriptions. *Harvard Theological Review* 25: 130-203.
- , 1936, The New Protosinaitic Inscriptions. R. F. S. Starr and R. F. Butin, *Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el Khadem*. Studies and Documents 6. London. 31-42.
- Calloway, J. A., and Cooley, R. E., A Salvage Excavation at Raddana, in Bireh, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 201: 9-19.
- Caquot, A., and Masson, E., 1977, Tablettes ougaritiques du Louvre, *Semitica* 27: 5-19.
- Colless, B. E., 1988, Recent Discoveries Illuminating the Origin of the Alphabet. *Abr-Nahrain* 26: 30-67.
- , 1990, The Proto-alphabetic Inscriptions of Sinai, *Abr-Nahrain* 28: 1-52.
- Cross, F. M., 1954, The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 134: 15-24.
- , 1967, The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet. *Eretz-Israel* 8: 8*-24*.
- , 1979, Early Alphabetic Scripts. *Symposia*, ed. F. M. Cross, 2 Vols., Cambridge Mass., Vol. 1, Archaeology and Early Israelite History, 97-123.
- , 1980, Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 238: 1-20.
- , 1984, An Old Canaanite Inscription Recently found at Lachish. *Tel Aviv* 11: 71-76.
- Cross, F. M., and Freedman, D. N., 1971, An Inscribed Jar Handle from Raddana. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 201: 19-22.

- Demsky, A., 1977, A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary Dating from the Period of the Judges and its Implications for the History of the Alphabet. *Tel Aviv* 4: 14-27.
- , 1986, The 'Izbet Sartah Ostrakon Ten Years Later. *Izbet Sartah: An Early Iron Age Site*, ed. I. Finkelstein, Oxford, 186-197.
- Dever, W. G., 1987, The Middle Bronze Age. *Biblical Archaeologist* 50: 149-177.
- Dotan, A., 1981, New Light on the 'Izbet Sartah Inscription. *Tel Aviv* 8: 160-172.
- Dothan, M., 1976, Akko: Interim Excavation report. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 224: 9.
- Driver, G. R., 1976, *Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet*, 3rd Edn., London.
- Fuentes Estañol, María-José, 1980, *Vocabulario Fenicio*. Biblioteca Fenicia 1. Barcelona.
- Gardiner, A., 1916, The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3: 1-16.
- Gibson, J. C. L., 1978, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. Edinburgh.
- , 1982, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, 3: *Phoenician Inscriptions*. Oxford.
- Goetze, A., 1953, A Seal Cylinder with an Early Alphabetic Inscription. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 129: 8-11.
- Gordon, C. H., 1965, *Ugaritic Textbook*. Analecta Orientalia 38. Rome.
- Grant, E., 1931, *Ain Shems Excavations*, I, Haverford.
- , 1932, *Ain Shems Excavations*, II, Haverford.
- Grimme, H., 1935, Die altkanaanäische Buchstabenschrift zwischen 1500 und 1250 v. Chr. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 10: 267-281.
- Kahane, P., 1946, Notes on the Shechem Plaque, *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 12: 30-39 (Hebrew).
- Kaplan, J., 1955, A Cemetery of the Bronze Age Discovered near Tel Aviv Harbour. *Atiqot: Journal of the Israel Department of Antiquities* 1: 1-12.
- Kochavi, M., 1977, An Ostrakon of the Period of the Judges from 'Izbet Sartah. *Tel Aviv* 4: 1-13.
- Koehler, L.; Baumgartner, W., 1958, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Leiden.
- Landgraf, J., 1971, The Manahat Inscription: LŠDH. *Levant* 3: 92-95.
- Leibovitch, J., 1965, Le tesson de Tell Nagila. *Le Muséon* 78: 229-230.
- Lemaire, A., 1985, Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique: 7. Tesson inscrit de Khirbet Tannin; 8. Deux tessons inscrits de Tell el-Ḥesi. *Semitica* 35: 13-17.
- Lundin, A. G., 1986, Poignard de Lakich à inscription protosinaïtique. *Palestinski Sbornik* 28 (91): 178-182.

- Maisler, B., 1938, Zur Urgeschichte des phönizisch-hebräischen Alphabets. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 18: 278-291.
- Mendenhall, G. E., 1985, *The Syllabic Inscriptions from Byblos*. Beirut.
- Naveh, J., 1982, *Early History of the Alphabet. An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography*. Jerusalem and Leiden.
- Obermann, J., 1938, Wind, Water, and Light in an Archaic Inscription from Shechem. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 57: 239-253.
- Petrie, F., 1932, *Ancient Gaza*, II, London.
- , 1952, with E. J. H. Mackay and M. A. Murray, *City of Shepherd Kings: Ancient Gaza*, V, London.
- Puech, E., 1986, Origine de l'alphabet. *Revue Biblique* 93: 161-213.
- , 1987, The Canaanite Inscriptions of Lachish and their religious Background. *Tel Aviv* 13-14: 13-25.
- Sass, B., 1988, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and its Development in the Second Millenium B.C.*, Wiesbaden.
- Seger, J. D., 1977, Tell Ḥalif (Lahav) 1976. *Israel Exploration Journal* 27: 45-47.
- , 1983, The Gezer Jar Signs: New Evidence of the Earliest Alphabet. *The Word of the Lord shall go forth*, ed. Carol L. Meyers and M. O'Connor (Winona Lake) 477-495.
- Seger, J. D., and Borowski, O., 1977, The First Two Seasons at Tell Ḥalif. *Biblical Archaeologist* 40: 156-166.
- Shea, W. H., 1978, The Inscribed Late Bronze Jar Handle from Tell Ḥalif. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 232: 78-80.
- Shiloh, Y., 1987, South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 119: 9-18.
- Stager, L. E., 1969, An Inscribed Potsherd from the Eleventh Century, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 194: 45-52.
- Sukenik, L., 1945, Note on the Sherd from Tell eṣ-Ṣareṃ, *Kedem* 2: 15 (in Hebrew).
- Taylor, W. R., 1930, Recent Epigraphic Discoveries in Palestine. *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 10: 16-22.
- , 1931, Some New Palestinian Inscriptions. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 41: 27-28.
- Tufnell, O., 1940, *Lachish II: The Fosse Temple*, London.
- , 1958, *Lachish IV: The Bronze Age*, London.
- Ussishkin, D., 1983, Excavations at Tel Lachish 1973-1977, *Tel Aviv* 10: 97-185.
- Yadin, Y., 1959, Note on a Proto-Canaanite Inscription from Lachish. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 91: 130-131.
- Yeivin, S., 1937, The Palestino-Sinaitic Inscriptions. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 69: 180-193.

—, 1972, The Ostrakon from Khirbet Raddana. *Bulletin of the Museum Haaretz* 14: 79-83.

ABBREVIATIONS

Akd. =	Akkadian.
Arb. =	Arabic.
Arm. =	Aramaic.
Egp. =	Egyptian.
Hbr. =	Hebrew.
Phn. =	Phoenician.
Syr. =	Syriac.
Ugr. =	Ugaritic

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Throughout the production of this series of articles on the proto-alphabet, Professor Takamitsu Muraoka has provided assistance and encouragement, with judicious firmness und unfailing kindness.

THE OBJECT SUFFIXES IN SAMARITAN ARAMAIC AND THE MODES OF THEIR ATTACHMENT TO THE VERB*

BY

MOSHE FLORENTIN

I. *Basic Principles*

Any investigation into an ancient language which is no longer used in living speech is based first and foremost on written material. The linguist must therefore take two important steps before beginning his actual study:

a) he must select the text on which he will base his study and, needless to say, the chosen text will be the one which more than any other reflects the language as it was at the time it was being spoken.

b) he must try to discover what were the spoken forms of living language represented by the dead words. These are essential preliminary steps in preparing the ground for a linguistic study.

The history of research during the past generation of the Aramaic of Palestine proves how serious the consequences of a mistake in taking these first steps can be. E.Y. Kutscher, one of the pioneers of the research into post-biblical Hebrew and Jewish Palestinian Ara-

* This article is based on a chapter from my thesis "Features of the Samaritan Aramaic verb—a diachronic survey based on the material in the Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch" presented for the Master's degree at Tel Aviv University in 1982. My deep thanks are due to Prof. A. Tal, who guided me in writing this research.

The following abbreviations are used in the article:

SA = Samaritan Aramaic

Dalman = see note 1

LOT = Z. Ben Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic amongst the Samaritans*, I-V, Jerusalem 1957-1977

Macuch = R. Macuch, *Grammatik des Samaritanischen Aramäisch*, Berlin 1982

SH = Samaritan Hebrew

Schulthess = F. Schulthess, *Grammatik des christlich-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Tübingen, 1924

ST = *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch*, A. Tal (ed.) I-III, Tel Aviv 1980-1983

maic, pointed out two such faults of Dalman's grammar:¹ First—that he had presented the material from Onqelos and the translation of the Prophets side by side with Galilean Aramaic, when in fact they differ greatly from one another, and secondly—that he had based his work on the conventional editions of the Yerushalmi Talmud and the Midrashim. With the original form of their language corrupted at the hands of late scribes, they can no longer serve as a foundation for a description of the dialect.²

Any description of Samaritan Aramaic (SA) should necessarily take these lessons into account, for, after all, the same dangers also lie waiting for anyone dealing with SA: alongside the Aramaic liturgical poems, presented in pronunciation in the Ben Ḥayyim edition (LOT III/b), we have before us a great wealth of manuscripts of the Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch. In a number of articles, particularly in the edition of the Targum which he prepared (ST), Tal has already shown that these manuscripts differ from one another mainly in language: more than all others, MS J (BLOr7562) reflects the form of SA at the climax of its vitality, and reflected in the MS A (Shekhem 3) is SA after it had ceased to serve as a spoken language. As we know, these two manuscripts form the foundation of his edition. The remaining manuscripts, some of them close to J and others close to A, are presented in the apparatus of this edition. From now on the large volume of material in the ST can be studied only in the light of the guidelines set forth in the Tal edition. In other words, any linguistic description of SA must take into consideration the chronological differences reflected by these two groups, in order to understand the great variety of grammatical features and their relation to the particular periods in the history of SA.

In the research presented below I have examined the object suffixes in SA as represented by the various manuscripts of the ST. I made an attempt to present the obj. suff. according to both their forms and the way they are attached to the verb stem. I came to the conclusion that the obj. suff. appended to the imperfect (including **י"ב** verbs) should be treated separately. Discussion of the obj. suff.

¹ G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig ²1905.

² E.Y. Kutscher, "Studies in Galilean Aramaic," *Tarbiz* 21 (1952) 192 ff.; 22 (1953) 52 ff., 185 ff.; 23 (1954) 36 ff.

appended to the other verb forms should be divided into two parts: suffixes attached to stems ending in a vowel (and not just ל"י verbs as is customary) and suffixes attached to stems ending in a consonant. This investigation also attempts to determine the conditions for the appearance of the various morphemes and, finally, to make a distinction between early and late SA.

II. *The Suffixes in Ms J of the ST and in the Liturgy*

a) *The Pronouns Suffixed to the Imperfect and the Verbal Infinitive of the קל Conjugation*

All the pronouns suffixed to the imperfect forms, including the suffixed pronouns of ל"י verbs, have in common the double "nun." The model for the suffixed form in the imperfect is therefore VNNS, i.e. a vowel + double "nun" + the suffix itself. The vowel may be either the final one of the verb stem such as ינדינן (= *yandi + nn + on*) ("he will bring them," LOT III/b, p. 64), or a bridging vowel between the stem ending in a consonant and the double "nun" such as נחכמנך, *nēkkāminnāk* (*nēkkam + i + nn + ak*) ("we will know you," *ibid.*, p. 103). The double "nun" may either be added as a whole to the verb stem which normally has no final "nun," like in the case of *nēkkāminnāk*, or its first component may be part of the verb such as ישמשונה, *yēšammēšunne* (*yēšammēšun + n + e*) ("they will serve him," *ibid.*, p. 222).

Imperfect forms without a final "nun" occur very occasionally such as דאפקדך (= אשד אצוך "that I command you," Ex 7:2) which undoubtedly is a slip of the pen on the part of the scribe of J. Significantly, MS M, another of the good manuscripts of ST,³ in fact has אפקדנך.

In the liturgy, various readers occasionally find a different way of joining the suffix to a verb stem ending in a consonant: without a bridging vowel and without gemination of "nun"; and thus, in a Piyyut by Tabia ben Darta, in contrast to the majority pronouncing לא תצרקינן *tāšrēkinnān* ("do not cause us to be in need of..," LOT III/b, p. 300) according to the rule, two other readers pronounce *tāšrikenān*. Such deviations from the rule occur a few more times in

³ See ST III, p. 95.

the same Piyyut (ibid., p. 301). Dropping the vowel following the stem also occurs in a Hebrew word, namely *yēbarrikenu* יברכנו ("he will bless us") in Piyyut by Abisha (ibid., p. 330). It seems that these irregularities are not in fact reading mistakes, but rather they show one of the (rare) usages in SA during its life time. It may be noted that in Samaritan Hebrew (SH) there is also a bridging vowel between a verb ending in a consonant and the suffix, e.g. תאכלנו *tā'ūkēlānu* ("she will consume us," Dt 5:22). This deviation from the rule should therefore not be attributed to these forms of SH. Less likely is the influence of the Hebrew suffixes which are joined to a stem ending in a vowel. These appear with a simple "nun" and without a bridging vowel, such as *yisqālānu* ולא יסקלנו ("will they not stone us," Ex 8:22⁴). In the fluency of speech the bridging vowel was possibly omitted and in consequence the duplication of the "nun" was discontinued.

In early SA a double "nun" outside the bounds of the imperfect is to be found only in the verbal infinitive of the קל conjugation (including ל"י verbs), such as *mašma'inne* (*mašma'* + *i* + *nn* + *e*) משמענה ("to hear him," ibid., p. 190); למעבדנה (= לעשותו "to prepare it," Gen. 18:7); ולמתנך (= ולתתך "to set you," Dt 26:19); למחזינן (= לראתם "to see them," Ex 14:13)⁵. This special form of the pronoun suffixed to the infinitive of the קל conjugation reflects the clear connection of these infinitive forms with the imperfect forms. This connection is well known in Mishnaic Hebrew in the infinitive forms such as לילך derived from the imperfect ילך, as opposed to ללכת in Biblical Hebrew. Tal drew attention to the connection between the infinitive forms and imperfect forms in the קל conjugation in SA, also determining the extent of this phenomenon in this dialect: "in MS Or7562 (J) the infinitive attached to the imperfect suffixes is only found in the קל conjugation"⁶. Furthermore, in the

⁴ See LOT V 3.2.4.

⁵ Similar are the forms of ל"י verbs which follow the imperfect (only a few verbs occur): לממחנה (in MS C, = להכותו "to beat him," Dt 25:3. In MS J: למענה, and there is no breach here of the rule, because this form of infinitive does not follow the pattern of the imperfect).

⁶ A. Tal, "Forms of the Infinitive in the Various Periods of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic," *Hebrew Language Studies Presented to Zeev Ben Hayyim*, Jerusalem 1983, p. 215. In the Aramaic of the Yerushalmi Talmud the "nun" of the imperfect also penetrated the forms of the infinitive of the קל conjugation (see Dalman, p. 377).

comparatively early period of SA there is a well-identifiable distinction between the pronouns suffixed to the verbal infinitive and the pronouns suffixed to the nominal infinitive, i.e. the subject pronouns. Thus for example **ולמתנך** (= **ולתתך** “to set you,” Dt 26:19) is a verbal infinitive form and suffixed to it is the suffix *-innāk*, which is used in the imperfect. In contrast there are forms such as **במדמך ובמעמך** (= **בשכך ובקומך** “when you sit in your house and when you walk by the way,” Dt 6:7) which are also nominal infinitives, suffixed to which is the possessive pronoun *ak* indicating the subject. This is also the difference between **למסבנה** (= **לקחתו** “to get it,” Dt 24:19) and **במסבה** (= **בקחתו** “when he took,” Gen 25:20).

b) *The Pronouns Suffixed to Verbal Forms other than Imperfect or the Verbal Infinitive of קל*

General:

Various grammars of the Aramaic dialects in Palestine customarily present separately the pronouns suffixed to ל"י verbs. This separation is based on the fact that ל"י verbs have a "tav" between the stem and the suffix such as וישמהו (= וישמהו "and he set it," Nu 21:9). This "tav," usually regarded as a part of the nota accusativi ית, in early SA serves as a bridging consonant between the stem ending in a vowel and the suffix. Examination of all the material available to us of SA shows that the distribution of this "tav" *is not confined to ל"י verbs*. In the early texts of SA it is also found quite regularly with other verb forms ending in a vowel, particularly with the vowel /a/. It therefore occurs without exception in the verbal infinitive of the derived conjugations אפעל, אפעיל, אפעל, אפעל, such as למנחמאתה (= לנחמו "to comfort him," Gen 37:35).⁷

Thus the most appropriate way for presenting the suffixed pronoun and the way of attaching it to the verb which is neither imperfect nor the infinitive of the קל conjugation is in distinguishing between the stems ending in a vowel and stems ending in a consonant. Where the stem ends in a vowel and the suffix starts with a vowel, a consonant will separate them. Note: as we know,

⁷ The "tay" is also to be found in Talmudic Aramaic in the forms of the infinitive of the derived conjugations (see Dalman, p. 377 and the examples on p. 379).

following the process of dropping of the gutturals, former *tertia*e guttural verbs end in a vowel in SA; thus the imperative שמע is pronounced *šema* (see examples in Macuch, p. 175). All the same, these verbs behave instead like those ending in a consonant, namely without a bridging consonant between the stem and the suffix: *šab' bāk* שבח ("he praised you," LOT III/b, p. 185).⁸

There are four bridging consonants, and the following are the phonetic conditions for their appearance in the early period of SA as reflected in MS J:

A) *t* – occurs after every vowel:

1) mostly after /a/ (except B1 below). This sound is therefore common in:

a) ל"י verbs (except B2 and D below), such as: השלתי (= השיאני "beguiled me," Gen 3:13); ואפצתה (= ויצילו "he delivered him," Gen 37:21; Ex 18:9); ושבתה (= וישתה "and [he] laid it," Gen 48:14); אפצתן (= הצילנו "delivered us," Ex 2:19); חזותן (= ראם "[he] saw them," Gen. 32:3); and also when the 3rd person sing. masc. of the ל"י verb ends in /u/⁹; ומעותן (= ויכם "and [he] routed them," Gen 14:15). The contrast should therefore be noted between מעותן ("he routed them") and מעונן ("they defeated them," Nu 14:45. B2 below).

b) The verbal infinitive of the derived conjugations ending in /a/, such as: למסראתי (= להבאשני "by making me odious," Gen 34:30); למשלחתך (= ולהביאך "and to bring you," Ex 23:20); לשלחו (= למפרנסתה "to let him go," Ex 4:23); לקדשם (= לעבדה "to till it," Gen 2:15); למקדשתן (= לקדשם "to consecrate them," Lev 8:11).

2) after /u/: דאעותה (= הורידהו "brought him down," Gen 39:1); אכעסותה (= יכעיסוהו "[they] provoked him to anger," Dt 32:16 in MS C), beside rule C below.

3) after /i/: ואיניקתה (= והיניקוהו "and nurse him," Ex 2:9); הרמיתה (= השליכהו "cast it," Ex 4:3), cf. rule D below.

⁸ From these forms it may be deduced that the pronoun was suffixed to the verb in the period preceding the decline in the pronunciation of the gutturals. With the disappearance of the guttural the stem did in fact end in a vowel, but the object morpheme was not changed (i.e. the "tav" was not introduced), but rather the vowel before the suffix itself was lengthened.

⁹ Namely forms like בעו, מעו. See Macuch, p. 203.

B) *n* – occurs in:

1) 2nd pers. sg. masc. ending in /a/, such as וחללתנה (= ותחללהו “you profane it,” Ex 20:22); ולא ידעתו (= ולא חכמתנה “you do not know him,” Dt 22:2); לא אשקעתנה (= לא מצאתה “and you could not find her,” Gen 38:23); דלבסתנה (= עיניתה “you have humiliated her,” Dt 21:14); אעלתנו (= הבאתנו “you have [not] brought us,” Nu 16:14.¹⁰

2) 3rd pers. pl. masc. with the object pronoun for 3rd pers. pl. masc. such as ויהבונן (= ויתנום “they attached it,” Ex 39:18); הקרובן (= הקריבום “they offered them,” Nu 17:3), including ל”י verbs: וחזונן (= ומלאום “and [they] filled [all the wells], Gen 26:15); ויראום (= ויראו “and [they] showed them,” Nu 13:26); ומעונן (= ויכום “and [they] defeated them,” Nu 14:45).

C) *ww* – this glide occurs after the vowel /u/ (but not in B2 above), such as ואפקוה (= ויוציאוהו “and they brough him forth,” Gen 19:16); ואנחוה (= ויניחוהו “and [they] set him,” ibid.); חפרוה (= חפרוה “[the well which the princes] dug,” Nu 21:18). The spelling ו- common in ST before the suffix of the 3rd pers. sg. masc. and fem. indicates that the glide *-ww* was common in SA. In SH it also occurred in similar situations, e.g. כרוה *kāruw’wā* (see also LOT V 3.2.3.6). Not very common is the occurrence of “tav” as a bridging consonant in this phonetic environment (see above). Such is the case with the infinitive *qittul* of פעל of ל”י verbs: לכסוה (= לכסותו “to cover it,” Ex 26:13); לדכוה (= לטהרו “to decide whether it is clean,” Lev 13:59).

D) *yy* – this glide occurs after the vowel /i/, such as ואתנשיה (= וישכחהו “[he] forgot him,” Gen 40:23). Here also there is a clear parallel to SH: שמתיו *šamtiyyu* (I have made him [your Lord], Gen 27:37).

Remark: It is important to distinguish between /n/ and /t/ on the one hand, and *-ww* and *-yy* on the other hand. Only the latter are glides, i.e. they are expected and derived from the phonetic environment.

¹⁰ In this respect there is also a clear parallel to the situation in Talmudic Aramaic (Dalman, p. 360).

The conditions for the occurrence of the bridging consonants in the Aramaic Liturgy as pronounced differ in some respect:

n - in the 2nd pers. sg. masc., such as *wšābāqtāne* ושבקתנה (= ועובתו and you left him, LOT III/b p. 82); *ʿābādtāne* עבדתנה ("you created him," ibid., p. 94); *wfalliṭṭānān* ופלטנן ("and you saved us," ibid., p. 88); *dandikānon* דאנדיכנון ("whom you created," ibid., p. 95). Possibly the reason for the "nun" in the 2nd pers. sg. masc., as opposed to the regular "tav" (see below) is to avoid a succession of 2 *t*'s: ושבקתנה in place of ושבקתתה*.

t - in all the remaining forms ending in a vowel, such as *wmalāte* ומלתה ("and he filled him," ibid., p. 264); *ʿenitān* עניתן ("answer us," ibid., p. 207); *amšabbāte* משבחחתה ("to praise him," ibid., p. 168); *šābā-qūte* שבקותה ("they left him," ibid., p. 139).

The glides *-ww* and *-yy* are not used with object pronouns in SA liturgy.

General remarks:

1) The difference between the "nun" used as a bridging consonant in the perfect forms and the double "nun" of the imperfect should be noted. In SA, as reflected in MS J and in the liturgy, only this "nun" (and not the double one) appears in the perfect.¹¹ Only in the late manuscripts of the ST does a "nun" occur after a consonant in the perfect (see p. 77 below).

2) Of great interest is the difference between MS J and the liturgy in all that concerns the glides. There are also two other matters in which there are differences between the two:

a) In the liturgy the object suffix of the 1st pers. appended to the imperative is always *-i*, while in MS J also *-ni* occurs (see below).

b) In the liturgy the object suffix for the 1st pers. pl. is always *-an*, whereas in MS J also *-nan* occurs (see p. 76). It seems that the difference is of no chronological nature, since even the late manuscripts of the ST differ on this matter from the liturgy. Perhaps a distinct method was reserved for this literary form. It appears that a

¹¹ Samaritan pronunciation shows that there is room for this distinction also in Talmudic Aramaic. It seems that Dalman, who gave a good description of the distribution of the "nun" outside the sphere of the imperfect, did not distinguish between the simple "nun" in שמעתנה ("you heard him") and the double "nun" of משמענה ("to hear him"; see phrasing of his words on p. 360 and p. 377).

more firmly based reply may be given when all the differences between the language of the SA liturgy and that of the Targum have been systematically examined.

Notes on the various suffixes:

1) 1st person sg. masc.

a) Apparently, after a consonant the bridging vowel /a/ was used.¹² However, it should be noted that in the liturgy we do not have in fact any evidence of this suffix. In LOT III/b the only form found is *adlammidni* דלמדני (“who taught me,” *ibid.*, p. 334 [in a Piyyut composed in the 14th century by Abd el Ben Shlomo in the hybrid “Shomronit” language]), with no bridging vowel between the stem and the suffix. In view of the same phenomenon occurring in the liturgy sometimes also in the imperfect (see p. 69 above), it appears that *-ni* was actually in circulation in SA.

b) Beside the usual *-ni* a parallel *-i* is suffixed to the 3rd person sg. masc. of the perfect and to the 2nd person sg. masc. of the imperative of the verb שלח. Perfect: שלחי (= שלחני “[God] sent me,” Gen 45:5) and thus in all other instances. Imperative: שלחי (= שלחני “send me,” Gen 30:25). *-i* occurs occasionally with several other verbs. Perfect: ואשבעי (= וישביעני “and he made me swear,” Gen 24:37), וחזתי (= ותראני “and she saw me,” Nu 22:33). Imperative: ועזרי (= והשיבני “and bring me word again,” Gen 37:14); קטלי (= הרגני “kill me,” Nu 11:15). The same applies to the liturgy. Perfect: *wsūḡēbi* ושחיבי (“and saved me,” LOT III/b p. 334). Imperative: four forms of imperative ending in a vowel occur in the liturgy recorded by Ben Ḥayyim and they all have the same morpheme: *uqabbēli* וקבלי (“and receive me,” *ibid.*, p. 242); *fērāqi* פרכי (“redeem me,” *ibid.*, p. 288); *wdēbāqi* ורבקי (“and save me,” *ibid.*); *fālletī* פלטי (“deliver me,” *ibid.*).

The clear findings in the liturgy as well as the regular use of *-i* in שלח in MS J of the ST prove that this morpheme was used in SA while it was still a living language. This is confirmed by its widespread use in Jewish Palestinian as well as in Syro-palestinian Aramaic.¹³

¹² This is the rule in SH (see LOT V, 3.2.1).

¹³ For the references, see LOT III/b p. 243, note 15. Ben Ḥayyim suggests that this pronoun suffixed to the noun had passed to the verb from the forms of the

2) 2nd person sg. masc.

Several forms occur in the liturgy: **דשבקנתך** *adšābāqnittāk* ("we who deserted you," LOT III/b, p. 138); **אשקחנתך** *asqānnittāk* ("we found you," *ibid.*, p. 246). These two forms call for closer examination. Whether we interpret them as deriving from *šabagna* + *tak*, or from *šabagnan* + *tak*, there is no satisfactory phonetic explanation for the gemination of the "tav." More acceptable in my view is the first assumption, and it appears that both the gemination of the "tav" as well as the vowel /i/ derive from the imperfect suffix *-innak*. At all events the suffix *-ittak* reflects a living language, and also on this detail there is an interesting parallel with Talmudic Aramaic: there too this "tav" is outside the range of ל"י verbs, principally when the stem is 1st person pl. Dalman explained the small number of "tav" which he found in other grammatical persons as scribal errors (Dalman, p. 360). Ben-Ḥayyim (LOT V, 3.2.3.4) adduced evidence for the vowel /i/ outside SA from the spelling forms **אכיריתה** and **קבליתה** in Syropalestinian Aramaic (cf. Schulthess, p. 78). Such doubling of the "tav" is also to be found in SH in forms such as **אכלתו** *ākālittu* (Dt 14:32), interpreted by Ben Ḥayyim as influenced by Aramaic (LOT V, 2.3.6).

In view of the two forms in SA liturgy and in view of the other findings which confirm them, it may be assumed that the ST forms **לא קרבנתך** (= **לא נגענוך** "we have not touched you," Gen 26:29); **ושלחנתך** (= **ונשלחך** "and [we] have sent you away," Gen 26:29) were pronounced **qārābnittāk* and **šallānnittāk* respectively.

3) 1st person pl. masc.

After a consonant there is:

1) Mostly *-nan*: **אפקנו** (= **ויוציאנו** "he brought us out," Ex 13:14 Nu 20:16, Dt 1:27, 6:21); **פקדנו** (= **צונו** "he commanded us," Dt 1:41; 6:24; 25).

2) Much less common is *-an*: **דאשקעתן** (= **אשר מצאתנו** "that has befallen us," Nu 20:14); **דפקדן** (= **צונו** "he forbade us," Dt 2:37); **ואפקנו** (= **ויוציאנו** "and [the Lord] brought us out," Dt 26:8). In the SA liturgy *-an* and not *-nan* is the morpheme which follows after a consonant. Perfect: **חכמן** *akkēmān* ("he informed us," LOT III/b

infinitive. He also adduces parallels from the מעלולא dialect and from the early Palestinian Piyyut.

p. 226). Imperative: *dēbākān* דבִּקֵּן (“save us,” *ibid.*, p. 55); *‘ā’elān* אַעֲלֵן (“bring us,” *ibid.*, p. 109).

In view of what is found in SA liturgy and in view of the fact that this morpheme is common also in the Aramaic of the Yerushalmi Talmud,¹⁴ it seems safe to assume that its appearance alongside the common *-nan* in MS J of the ST reflects what was customary in the living language.

III. *The Suffixes in MS A of the ST and in the Related Manuscripts*

1. *General.* The picture which emerges from the examination of MS A of the ST and from its cognates is completely different from what MS J and the liturgy present. The principal difference may be formulated as follows: although the above described suffixes and the rules for their attachment to the verb may also be recognized in MS A, the clear rules which characterize the language of MS J are not preserved. There are two aspects to the breach of the rules in MS A:

a) Missing in many cases is the “nun” in the object pronouns suffixed to forms of the imperfect, namely יקטלה instead of יקטלנה.

b) The “nun” of the imperfect invaded not only the forms of the verbal infinitive of the קל conjugation (as was customary in J), but also all the other verbal classes of all the conjugations. Accordingly, while in MS J (as well as in the liturgy) a “nun” is found in some of the forms of the perfect ending in a vowel—such as ועבדתנה (having a clear phonetic function—a transitional consonant between two vowels: the stem vowel and the suffix vowel), in MS A “nun” occurs frequently with verb stems ending in a consonant, such as ברכנה (= ברך אותו “he blessed him”). In MS A the expansion of the “nun” from the imperfect in many verbs has displaced even the “tav,” common in MS J in forms ending in a vowel. And thus in MS A we find וחפנה (= ויצפהו and he overlaid it,” Ex 37:2) as opposed to ועפתה in J.

2. *The material in Ms A*¹⁵

a) “nun” instead of “tav” after a vowel in the perfect and the

¹⁴ See Schlesinger, *Das aramäische Verbum im Jerusalemischen Talmud*, Berlin 1899, p. 70.

¹⁵ The material is presented in the order of deviations from the rules of the language of MS J. The examples given for every deviation from the rule are arranged following the order of persons.

verbal infinitive of the derived conjugations. Perfect: ויצילו (= וישלחו) "and he delivered him," Gen 37:21; Ex 18:9); ואתשנה (= וישכחו) "and he forgot him," Gen 40:23); ואתנה (= ויראהו) "[the Lord] showed him," Ex 15:25); היתנה (= הורידהו) "bring him down," Gen 44:21). שונו (= שתם) "[he] put them," Gen 30:40); ואתנו (= וישגם) "he overtook them," Gen 44:6); ומתנו (= ויכם) "and he smote them," Ex 17:13); ופצנו (= ויצילם) "[the Lord] had delivered them," Ex 18:8). Infinitive: ולכלותם (= ולמסכמנו) "and to consume them," Ex 32:12).¹⁶

b) The absence of an indication of a glide after a vowel in the perfect ואתנה (= וביאה) "[Isaac] brought her," Gen 24:67); ואתנה (= ויראה) "[and he] saw her," Gen 38:15).¹⁷

c) "nun" suffixed to perfect forms ending in a consonant ברכנה (= ויברכהו) "[the Lord] blessed him," Gen 26:12, 27:23; 27); וגשנה (= וימיתו) "and [the Lord] slew him," Gen 38:7); עמנה (= כנו) "[your hands] have established [it]," Ex 15:17; ואקמה (= ויעמידהו) "and he set him before," Gen 47:7); פקדתנה (= צויתו) "I commanded him," Ex 20:17a).¹⁸ דפקדתנו (= אשר צויתם) "which I commanded them," Ex 32:8); ושלחנו (= וישלחם) "and [Isaac] set them on their way," Gen 26:31); ואשקחנו (= וימצאם) "and he found them," Gen 37:17).

d) On the other hand pronoun suffixed to an imperfect without "nun" also occurs: וזרקנה (= וזרקו) "and let [Moses] throw it," Ex 9:8); ותגנה (= והסגירו) "and [he] shall shut it up," Lev 13:54); ויעבדה (= ועשהו) "and [he shall] offer it," Lev 16:9); תנכסה (= תוכחוהו) "you shall offer it," Lev 19:5).

¹⁶ The majority of the infinitives do in fact behave according to the rule: למקדתנו (= לקדשם) "to consecrate them," Lev 8:11); למשמתנו (= לשרתם) "to minister to them," Nu 16:9).

¹⁷ Even in MS J there are a number of ל" verbs without a bridging "tav," but in its place they contain a (double) "yod" as a glide between two vowels (see אתנה on p. 73 above).

¹⁸ It is important to note the numerical relationship between the archaic forms which do not contain a "nun" and the new forms containing it. Hence in the 3rd pers. sg. masc. there are over 60 archaic forms as opposed to over 20 new ones.

3. *Conclusions Concerning the Findings in MS A and its Cognates*

The question is whether the findings in MS A reflect the state of SA during one of the periods when it was spoken, or they bear no relation to the language itself, reflecting merely the degree of ignorance of scribes and copyists who were in fact active many years after Aramaic had ceased to function as a spoken language. The answer to this question clearly depends on investigating the following problems:

- a) What is the frequency of the new forms in MS A?
- b) What is the nature of these deviations?
- c) What is the general nature of manuscript A?

A glance at the findings in MS A in the light of these three questions brings us nearer to the assumption that, on the whole, the deviations do not reflect the state of the language at the time it was spoken. The frequency of the deviating forms is relatively low (even though very noticeable) compared with the ancient forms. This applies mainly to deviations *a*, *b* and *d*. Had they occupied a permanent place in the living language, their abundance in the texts would have been greater. As for the second question, none of these deviations could find a place in the language of SA liturgy. Furthermore, it is hard to suppose that behind the (rare) spelling as **רעמאה**, which reflects the deviation *b*, there is a living **ל"י** form with no consonant between the stem and the suffix. Even the “nun” which replaces the “tav” in the perfect (deviation *a*) in a completely haphazard manner leads us towards the assumption that its spelling reflects the ignorance of the scribe and not the state of the language. As for the third question, Tal (Introduction to ST, p. 89) has already presented several indications which point to the deterioration of grammar in MS A, for example forms of imperfect without “nun,” such as **תסכו** (= **תקחו** “you shall take,” Ex 12:5). The various (and puzzling) forms of the object pronoun serve to illustrate further the nature of this manuscript.¹⁹

¹⁹ To avoid misunderstanding, I would like to emphasize that the deterioration of grammar is *one* of the characteristics of MS A. This feature does not discredit other sound evidence in this manuscript.

However, deviation *ε* may be regarded in a different way. Though there is no difficulty in assuming that what is true for the “nun” of **ברכנה** is likewise true for the “nun” in **ומחנן**, namely that it is another manifestation of the decline in the knowledge of Aramaic among the copyists operating when Aramaic was already a dead language. There are however also grounds for the assumption that these spellings reflect genuine forms of language, that is these were pronounced like **barrēkinne*:

a) The abundance of these forms of spelling is not inconsiderable (see note 18).

b) The assumption of the propagation of the morpheme from the imperfect to the perfect is not at all difficult. We did after all try to explain the vowel /i/ and the doubling of the “tav”—in forms such as *šabbqnittak* which are used in the SA liturgy—in terms of the analogy of the object pronoun of the imperfect. Verbal forms containing double “nun” outside the bounds of the imperfect, such as *wqabinnu* **וקבנו** (Nu 23:13) are to be found in SH, and of these Ben Ḥayyim writes: “in the double ‘nun’ SH differs from Tiberian Hebrew in what it transferred from the imperfect to the perfect and the imperative” (LOT V 3.2.3.4).²⁰ Though in SA liturgy we did not find a form such as **barrēkinne*, yet in view of the above, these forms of spelling—possibly like other features of MS A—are not the result of carelessness or ignorance of the copyist, but rather a faithful reflection of what had been created in speech when SA, even though nearing the end of its days, was still a living language.

IV *Epilogue: The Way of Expressing the Object in SA*

An examination of the object pronouns involves the general question of the way of expressing the object in SA: by way of synthesis such as **קטלה**, or by way of analysis such as **קטל יתה**. It appears that in this respect there are differences between the early and the late layers of SA. True, unequivocal conclusions cannot be drawn, given the nature of the material under scrutiny. Most of it

²⁰ From the Syro-palestinian Aramaic Schulthess cited **דמינתה** (“I imagined him”), unfortunately without indicating the source. In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in **בראשית רבא** there is **אקימתן** (Y. Theodor, Ch. Albeck edition, *Midrash Bereshit Raba*, Berlin - Jerusalem 1903-1936, p. 689).

being a translation of the Hebrew Pentateuch, it is only natural that it follows the original. A comparison of MS J with MS A, however, indicates that the synthetical way of expressing the accusative was more popular during the later period of SA represented by A. In MS J an object pronoun is suffixed to the verb *only* when that is the way in the Hebrew text, whereas in MS A and in its cognates object pronouns suffixed to the verb are used *not only* when that is the way taken in the Hebrew text. Here are a number of examples from MS A: עבדה (= עשה אותו "he made him," Gen 5:1) in J: נסבתה; עבד יתה (= לקח אותו "he took him," Gen 5:24), in J: ויקטלני; אנסב יתה (= והרגו אותי "they will kill me," Gen 12:12), in J: ויקטלון יתי; יברכנה; יברך יתך (= יברך אותך "[he will] bless you," Gen 28:3), in J: יברך יתך; יברך יתה (= הציל אותו "[he might] rescue him," Gen 37:22), in J: ואפצה יתה; ושמשה (= וישרת אותו "and he attended him," Gen 39:4); in J: ושמש; ויתה; אמטינוני (= שלחתם אותי "[you] sent me here," Gen 45:8), in J: ויתה; וזרקתה; וזרק יתך (= וזרק אותך "and [Moses] threw it," Ex 9:10); in J: וזרק יתה; וזרק יתך (= דאפקדך "I will give you in commandment," Ex 25:22), in J: דאפקד יתך. These show that the scribe of A, even though in general he also followed the Hebrew source, preferred the synthetical way of expression.

These indications in MS A agree with what is found in the SA liturgy, and there the picture is even clearer: the synthetical way, many examples of which have been presented in the body of this article, is the most common, while the analytical expression of the object is relatively rare. It will suffice to bring the object pronoun for 1st pers. pl. masc. frequently used in the SA liturgy. Nearly eighty times the pronoun occurs suffixed to the verb—as in תנופנן, פדיתן, חכמן, דבקן—while the analytical way is found only seven times, as in ומלף יתן (= ומלמד אותנו "and teaches us," LOT III/b, p. 44); גמלת לנו (= גמלת לנו "you have repaid us," *ibid.*, p. 88).²¹ On this matter there is also a very interesting parallel between SA in its various periods and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic at corresponding times. Both in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic as reflected in the Geniza fragments,²² and in the Neophyti I manuscript²³ only the analytical

²¹ See also: p. 66, l. 13; p. 67, l. 31; p. 299 l. 7; p. 307 l. 51; p. 317, l. 58.

²² See E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic*, Jerusalem 1977, p. 50.

²³ See Muraoka, "On the morphosyntax of the infinitive in Targumic Aramaic," in M. Sokoloff (ed.) *Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition* (Ramat-

way is used, whereas in the later period, represented by the language of the Yerushalmi Talmud and the Midrashim, the synthetical way is used (e.g. אַקִימְתוּן, Ber. Rabb., Theodor Albeck edition, p. 609).²⁴

Gan, 1983), pp. 75-80, and Tal, "The Dialects of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the Palestinian Targum," *Sefarad* 46 (1986) 441 ff.

²⁴ Lately Tal has raised the possibility that the Mishnaic Hebrew, which "never abandoned the pronouns suffixed to the verb," was that which influenced the return to the synthetical way both in SA and also in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (*Between Hebrew and Aramaic in the Samaritan Literature*, Proceedings of the Israel National Academy of Sciences, Volume Seven, Vol. 10, p. 254).

QĒTŪL NOUNS IN CLASSICAL HEBREW

BY

CONSTANCE WALLACE GORDON

This formation (qĕtŭl < qutŭl) is among the commonest broken plurals in Arabic.¹ Thus Ar. *nufŭs* "people, population" is the broken plural of *nafs* "soul, person"²; *mulŭk* pl., *malik* sg. "king"; *buhŭr* pl., *baħr* sg. "sea," *buyŭt* pl., *bayt* sg. "house," etc.

Qutŭl comes into Hebrew as qĕtŭl in keeping with the principle that in words of the CvCVC formation (in which *v* is a short vowel and *V* is a long vowel or diphthong) the *v* will be retained only when it is /a/ (as in *'ādŏn*, *'āṭŏn*, *lāšŏn*, etc.); it will be reduced to šwa in the case of /i/ or /u/.³ Thus Arabic *ħimār* corresponds to Hebrew *ħāmŏr* and instead of **ħu'ayr* (of the qutayl formation of diminutives) we find *ħə'ér* "a little bit" in Hebrew.

The fact that broken plurals are treated as fem. sg. in Arabic and Ethiopic⁴ reflects that they were felt to be collectives. A collective is semantically plural (a unit made up of individual parts; an aggregate), but is grammatically singular.⁵ In Greek the neuter plurals in -/a/ (corresponding to sg. in -/on/) take the singular verb; and in Latin (as well as in Greek) the neuter plural, such as *bona*, is indistinguishable in form from the fem. sg. *bona*. Brockelmann sums up the situation by stating that "Die drei Kategorien Fem.-Abstr., Kollektiv

¹ Wright, 1986. Vol. 1 § 304, VI.

² In the bilinguals from Ebla *nu-pu-uš-tum* is parallel to Sumerian ZI "life." It is a qutŭl formation + fem. -*t* (with the ŭ shortened in the closed syllable before two consonants) which is a collective.

³ Joŭon points out that in this circumstance a long vowel causes an original short *i* or *u* to drop, but he does not note the stability of the short *a*. In that same section, § 6g, he is confused as to the definition of a long vowel, which can be tested by the characteristic that it is never reduced to šwa or zero. Thus his description of 𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤁 having two long vowels is incorrect, and in his terminology should be called medium "moyennes." In fact they are short vowels which have been lengthened due to accent and/or syllabification.

⁴ Dillmann, 1907, introduces his discussion of broken plurals under the rubric "General Account of the Inner Plural or Collective Form" § 135, p. 299.

⁵ In British (vs. American) usage collectives may take the plural verb, as in "The Government are convening."

und Plural liegen wie im Idg. so auch im Semit, zuweilen noch ungeschieden neben einander”.⁶

That *gəḏūḏ* is “a band of men” illustrates the collective nature of the word. While a band is made up of many men, it is treated collectively as a sg. and can be pluralized as *gəḏūḏīm* “bands”. Double plurals, i.e. the pluralization by suffix of an internal plural, are not rare; cf. Arabic sg. *ibn*, pl. *banūna* where the plural stem *ban-* is again pluralized with the suffix *-ūna*.⁷

The collective nature of the qəṭûl nouns is clear from their meaning:

gəḥûl = “boundary, border,” cf. Ar. sg. *jabl* “mountain.”

Boundaries are often formed by mountain ranges. This occurs once (Is 28.25) in f. sg. *gəḥûlāḇ*.

gəṃûl = “dealing, recompense, benefit” (BDB), “doings” Pr 12:14 (JPS).

This occurs also in feminine and plural forms. Semantically, it is the least convincing example of the broken plural formation for the collective in Hebrew, but given the evidence of the other examples, it seems to fit in with the category.

ṣəḥûr = the sum total of the male population.

ṣəḥûl = the total yield of harvests.

ṣəḡûm = the living.⁸

ləḥûš = clothing.

rəḥûš = the sum total of one’s movable possessions/property.

In Gn 14, the Masorah has *rəḥûš* throughout, but the Septuagint takes this meaning only once (v. 12), otherwise reading *rəḥeš* τῆν ἵππων (acc.) “cavalry” (vv. 11, 16, 21).

An interesting case is *ṣəḥûl*, commonly translated “habitation”,⁹ which at first glance does not look like a collective. However, when one examines the words for dwelling places in the languages of the Ancient Near East, one sees that the plural may be used to denote

⁶ Brockelmann, 1908. § 229, p. 426.

⁷ For a full discussion of the phenomenon in Hebrew, see Wallace, 1988.

⁸ With metathesis, for *ḡəyûm*. See Joüon, § 88Eb.

⁹ It always refers to a divine habitation, either the heavens or the temple. Just as *’ōhel* “tent” is related to Arabic *’ahl* “people,” so is *ṣəḥûl* “divine habitat” related to Ugaritic *ṣbl* “prince,” as in the epithet *ṣbl B’l*, “Prince Baal.” A divine personage can be called a “prince,” e.g. the Archangel Michael in Dn 12:1.

what we would consider a single habitation. In Ugaritic *bhtm*, *mšknt* and *hklm* all have pl. forms for sg. meaning;¹⁰ in the OT the pl. of *'ōhel*, *miškān* and *bayit* are all used for a single residence.¹¹

The qētūl formation is always collective when it is masc. sg. Although some of these collectives occur in the plural (*gəḥūlīm/ōt*, *gəṃūlā[y]w/ōt*, *gəḏūḏīm*), there is a category of abstractions in this formation, all referring to significant times or stages of life, which only occur in the plural, i.e. they are double plurals.

bəḥūrīm = youth

batūlīm = virginity

zəqūnīm = old age

nə'ūrīm = boyhood, youth

qəḏūmīm = antiquity¹²

Hebrew nouns of the qētūl formation should be identified as the reflex of the Arabic broken plurals of the qutūl type. This is not only in keeping with phonetic law, but is borne out by the collective sense of the Hebrew qētūl nouns.¹³

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bauer, H. and Leander, P., 1922 (1965), *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*. Hildesheim. Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Blau, J., 1976, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Wiesbaden. Otto Harrassowitz.
- Brockelmann, C., 1908, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Vol. I. Berlin.
- Brown, F., Driver S.R., and Briggs C.A., 1907, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford.
- Dietrich, F.E.C., 1846, *Abhandlungen zur hebräischen Grammatik*. Leipzig.

¹⁰ Gordon, 1967. § 13.17, p. 113. He also notes the use of Homeric Greek pl. δῶματα with sg. meaning.

¹¹ See Nu 24:5; Ex 8:5,6 (as compared to Ex 7:28).

¹² There is only one example of where this type of abstract ends in *-ōt* instead of *-īm*: **kalūlōt* = betrothal (*kalūlōtāyik* Jer 2:2).

¹³ The author owes a debt of gratitude to Professor T. Muraoka for his guidance.

- Dillmann, A., 1907, *Ethiopic Grammar*. Second ed., trans. James A Crichton, London.
- Gordon, C.H., 1967, *Ugaritic Textbook*. Rome.
- Jewish Publication Society, 1917 (1955), *The Holy Scriptures*. Philadelphia.
- Joüon, P., 1947, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique*. Rome.
- Kautzsch, E., 1910, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Oxford.
- Moscatti, S. et al. (eds.) 1964, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*. Wiesbaden.
- Pettinato, G., 1982, *Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla* — 4 “Testi Lessicali Bilingui della Biblioteca L.2769.” Napoli.
- Wallace, C., 1988, “Broken and Double Plural Formations in the Hebrew Bible.” NYU dissertation, distributed by University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, MI, USA.
- Wright, W., 1896-98, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. 2 vols.

ṬŪR ʿABDĪN THROUGH THE AGES*

BY

RUDOLF MACUCH

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn “The-Mountain-of-Worshippers,” a limestone plateau of South-eastern Turkey with numerous churches and monasteries partly in ruins, partly restored and preserved, has a history of more than three millennia, the second and better known as well as more interesting half of which is Christian. However, it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that European scholars started to pay systematic attention to this remote place of Syro-Christianity. A. Socin, who in collaboration with E. Prym published for the first time Neo-Aramaic and Arabic dialectal texts collected in this region,¹ paid attention not only to the dialects but also to the topography of the boundaries.²

In the years to come scholars paid more attention to the Neo-Aramaic language of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (Ṭūrōyo) than to its monumental remains and ruins. In 1896 M. Lidzbarski published a few pieces in this dialect from Sachau’s collection,³ and in 1897 J. Parisot presented a few new texts with a brief grammatical sketch to the International Congress of Orientalists.⁴ It was only in 1923 that the first handwritten phonetic and morphological treatment of the dialect

* Marginal notes to Andrew Palmer, *Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier—The early history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*. Cambridge University Press 1990. XXIV, 265 pp. 17 × 24,5 cm.

¹ E. Prym - A. Socin, *Der aramäische Dialekt des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn* I-II, Göttingen 1981-83; *idem*, “Der arabische Dialekt von Mosul und Mardin,” *ZDMG* 36 (1882) 1-53, 37 (1883) 188-222.

² A. Socin, “Zur Geographie des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn,” *ZDMG* 35 (1881) 237-269; see also “Die Ortslagen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn nach A. Socins Reisenbericht und Erkundigungen im Anschluß an die Recognoscierungen des Tigrislaufes in N durch Grf. v. Moltke (1838) und der Hauptstraße von Mardin-Nisibin Gezire in S durch Ingen Černik (1873) entworfen von H. Kiepert, Febr.

³ M. Lidzbarski, *Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I-II Weimar 1896 (reprint 1973), I, pp. 1-77 (text), II, pp. 1-41 (German translation), 381-580 (glossary).

⁴ J. Parisot, “Contributions à l’étude du dialecte néo-syriaque du Tour Abdīn. *Actes du IV^{me} congrès international des Orientaliste*, IV^e section, Paris 1987, pp. 179-198.

by A. Siegel⁵ appeared and only at the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies that H. Ritter's extensive collection of Ṭūrōyō texts with German translation and glossary⁶ and O. Jastrow's standard grammar, which in 1985 reached its third edition,⁷ were published.

What is the reason for which linguistic interest in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn seems to overweigh the interest in archaeology and history of this ancient Christian region?

Whereas Semitologists became acquainted with vernacular East Syriac through Stoddard's Grammar in 1855, spoken West Syriac of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn came more than a quarter of a century later to their attention. Spoken idioms of people with literary past are attractive to both philologists and linguists. It is even suprising that between Prym/Socin (1881) and Ritter (1967) there was only a meager contribution of Parisot (1897). In the case of Ritter one could suppose that it was his long stay in Turkey which enticed him to investigate this dialect. But this would hardly explain why Jastrow's phonetic and morphological treatment reached its third edition within less than three decades.

The real reason of this increased linguistic interest in Ṭūrōyō in our days is that Ṭūr ʿAbdīn is coming to us and we need not go there as we needed to in the past. Difficult life conditions, intolerance of their Muslim neighbours and lack of governmental protection forced the Christians of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn to flee their country and to look for better life conditions abroad. Their situation, as described by Ritter: "*Ich habe kaum einen jungen mann aus dem Ṭūr kennen gelernt, der sich nicht danach sehnte, im westen arbeit zu finden,*"⁸ is now commonly known from all experts, asylum and immigration offices, "Assyrian" periodicals abroad, such as *Hujādā* "Unity" in Sweden, *Egarto* "Letter" in West-Berlin etc., and even from our newspapers. Since the beginning of the sixties they are coming in unbroken streams as *Gastarbeiter* to Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Sweden and other western coun-

⁵ A. Siegel, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Hannover 1923.

⁶ H. Ritter, *Ṭūrōyo. Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Beirut: I 1967, II 1969, III 1971.

⁷ O. Jastrow, *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Mīdīn im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*, Bamberg 1967, 2970, Wiesbaden 31985.

⁸ Op. cit. (n. 6), I, p. *9*.

tries. They are so numerous that they are able to maintain their own churches, clubs, periodicals and to teach their language and religion in schools.⁹ Never was Ṭūr ʿAbdīn as close to us as in the last two decades. Its people are living among us, their problems concern us, and it is our humane duty to help them to preserve their national and religious identity, as long as they wish to maintain it.

The forsaking of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn by young people and only old people remaining behind means a decisive turning point in the history of this ancient Oriental Christian region. We do not know exactly why and when the Syro-Aramean Christians moved from their original centre, Edessa, to this mountainous region, but we may agree to Ritter: *Es könnte sein, daß der 'Berg' eine art zufluchtsgebiet gewesen ist, wo die von Arabern, Türken und Kurden bedrängten Christen größere sicherheit fanden als in dem gebiet der großen heerstraßen.*¹⁰ So did the dictum *Montani semper liberi* prove to be more or less true until the beginning of the twentieth century when during the First World War through drastic persecutions of the Christians even in the remotest corners of the Turkish territory the *semper* of the dictum was ultimately annulled. Oriental mountains offered less safety to their Christian inhabitants, than the highways of the Western world. Several emigration waves began, continue and are still increasing in our days. The same reason of seeking for safety which might have constrained Syro-Aramean Christian of Jacobite monophysite confession to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn forces them, after more than one and a half millennia, to abandon this territory.

There is notable difference between past and present of the "Mount-of-Worshippers." The former means a surprising flourishing of a specific branch of Oriental Christianity documented by numerous monasteries, churches, ancient chronicles, inscriptions and legends; the latter testifies to its decline and threatened extinction. Both were carefully examined by a German specialist of Oriental Christianity, Helga Anschütz, during several field trips to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and adjacent regions during the years 1965-1982. In her numerous

⁹ See W. Heinrichs, *Written Turoyo*, in: id. (ed.), *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*, Scholars Press, Atlanta, Georgia 1990 pp. 181-188 (esp. 182 f.) and Y. Ishaq, *Turoyo - from spoken to written Language*, *ibid.*, pp. 189-199 (about the teaching of Turoyo in Sweden).

¹⁰ Op. cit. (n. 6), I, p. *8*.

publications, lectures at symposiums and German Oriental congresses she presented her first-hand observations accompanied by films and communicated a vivid picture of the dying-out Christianity of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn. Her book *Die syrischen Christen vom Ṭūr ʿAbdīn — Eine altchristliche Bevölkerungsgruppe zwischen Beharrung, Stagnation und Auflösung* (Würzburg 1984)¹¹ is a repertory of all main historical and contemporaneous sociological problems of Christianity of the region completed by a schematic sketch of villages and monasteries still partly inhabited or completely abandoned by Christians. As already the title of the book “between perseverance, stagnation and extinction” shows, the decline of this once flourishing Christian community is obvious.

In times of decline we gladly return to the glorious periods of ascent and flourishing. Unfortunately, until the eighties of our century the archaeological and architectural investigation of the area was minimal. Only some chronicles and *vitae sanctorum* were published by Syrologists, such as Brooks, Chabot, Nau, Peeters and others.¹² The French consul in Baghdad, Henry Pognon, who spent long years in the Near East, published also some Syriac inscriptions of the area¹³ supplemented eighty years later by Andrew Palmer.¹⁴ The historical material was quite scanty when P. Krüger with his dissertation *Das syrisch-monophysitische Mönchtum im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn* (1937-38) laid foundations for a scholarly interpretation of historical phenomena of the area. Even Gertrude Bell’s *Amurath to Amurath* (*Travels in Asia Minor and Persia*), London 1911, ²1924, as well as her *The Churches and Monasteries of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Neighbouring Districts*, ZGA, Beiheft 9, 1913 (reprint: Liechtenstein 1978) had to wait for improvement and completion by Marlia Mundell Mango in 1977 and 1982.¹⁵ Finally in 1982-3 G. Wiesner presented a standard work on

¹¹ As to H. Anschütz’s former bibliography see op. cit., pp. 173 f.

¹² See book under review, Bibliography.

¹³ H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris 1907.

¹⁴ A. Palmer, “Corpus of Inscriptions from Ṭūr ʿAbdīn and Environs,” OC 71 (1987) 53-139.

¹⁵ See book under review, p. 244.

Christian churches and monasteries¹⁶ “which makes up in thoroughness what it lacks in readability”.¹⁷

It is gratifying to welcome a new English scholar in this domain: Andrew Palmer with his book “*Monk and mason on the Tigris frontier — The early history of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn*” (1990). He is a pupil of two renowned Syrologists, J. Assfalg (Munich) and S.P. Brock (Oxford), and is already known through several articles on West Syriac subjects published in the eighties.¹⁸ He undertook several field trips to Ṭūr ʿAbdīn during which he made a detailed survey of a whole monastic complex, especially of Qartmīn Abbey where he stayed six months in 1977-8. His autoptic observations were complemented by literary Syriac sources, such as chronicles extending from the beginning of the sixth century to the beginning of the sixteenth (Chr. Edessa 506 - Chr. Addai 1503), *vitae sanctorum*, inscriptions and miscellaneous works, without which it would hardly have been possible “to people the monuments and to reconstruct a model of monastic life from the fourth to the eighth century” (p. XIV). Several Syriac sources used are not yet completely published. But the author prepared a preliminary edition and translation of two most important of them, the so-called *Qartmīn Trilogy* and the *Book of Life*, in a 500-page microfiche supplement added to the book. The former is a basic work constantly referred to, and the first four chapters and part of the fifth, i.e. about two thirds of the book, are an extended commentary on this manuscript. The latter is “a unique quasi-epigraphical document of a Christian village and its will to survive” (book-jacket). Their publication in microfiche made it possible to keep both the volume and the price of the book within reasonable limits and enables the interested reader to get access to these documents of basic importance for the early history of monastic life and Christianity in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn.

Although some philological problems are occasionally discussed, the book is addressed in the main to historians rather than to specialists in Oriental languages. For this reason the cumbersome

¹⁶ G. Wiesner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Tur ʿAbdīn*, I-II, Wiesbaden 1982-83; see H. Anschütz's Bibliography p. 197 (no. 564 a-b); omitted in A. Palmer's Bibliography, p. 246, although mentioned without full title in the Preface, p. XV.

¹⁷ A. Palmer, op. cit., p. XIII, par. 3, l. 3.

¹⁸ See his Bibliography, op. cit., pp. 244 f.

and complicated transcription of Oriental words has been simplified, diacritical signs and length of vowels are mostly omitted (only paryngal *h* is consistently marked), spirantized labials are transcribed as *v* and *f*, other spirantized consonants as *gh*, *dh*, *kh*, *th*. West Syriac vocalization is consistently used, gemination of consonants neglected. Although under these circumstances some inconsistencies might have crept into the book, they will disturb neither historians nor Orientalists who will easily detect the exact Syriac form.

Although the main body of the work is dedicated to the history of Qarṭmīn, the monasticism of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was studied in a wider context including the adjacent regions in order to complete the fragmentary local data.

Ṭūr ʿAbdīn has a history of one and a half millennia before the conversion of its Aramaean inhabitants to Christianity and is mentioned in several Assyrian records, such as Adadniari I (1305-1274) and Salmanassar I (1274-1244), in which several wine regions, especially the good wine of the Mount Izala, a name still used for the southern part of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, is mentioned.¹⁹ The fertility of Mount Izlō, esp. its wine and other varieties of fruit, was also praised by Theophylact Simocatta quoted by Palmer (p. 8). The region was similarly known to Greek and Roman geographers, Ptolemaios, Strabo and Ammian.²⁰ Not less interesting is a record of Assurnassipal II about his military expedition in this region in 879 B.C. with which Palmer opens his Introduction (p. 1).²¹ This text offers a double interest: Not only names of several villages are still recognizable in this ancient record, but also the same types of farming and metalwork have still been preserved. In view of the well-known fact that many geographical names in the Near East changed several times with the change of language of the population, or parallel names were introduced under foreign influence,²² the preservation of ancient names and of the old way of life during more than three millennia

¹⁹ H. Anschütz, op. cit., p. 11 with ns. 17-18.

²⁰ Ibid. with n. 19.

²¹ Quoted in English translation according to K.-H. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahr-hunderts v. Chr.* Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B 26 (Wiesbaden 1980), section C.

²² See some typical examples in R. Macuch, *Geschichte der spät- und neu-syrischen Literatur* (1976), p. XVII, par. 2.

may be considered as a clear proof of conservatism firmly rooted in this region.

Political history of Tūr 'Abdīn in ancient Persian, Graeco-Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine and early Islamic times is presented succinctly in the Introduction (pp. 1-8), since the ancient Persians left no record of their campaigns in this area, and as to the following periods, material can be only partly collected from later Graeco-Byzantine, Latin, Syriac and Arabic authors. Since after 363 Tūr 'Abdīn was for two and a half centuries "the furthest-flung bulwark of the eastern Roman empire" (p. 4, par. 3), it is regrettable that only scanty dates can be gathered for this turbulent period of wars between the Byzantines and the Persians. Only the last great wars in the late sixth and early seventh centuries were chronicled by Theophylact of Simocatta²³ and an Anonymous Syrian²⁴. Early in the seventh century, Tūr 'Abdīn changed its political masters several times: in 613 it was conquered by the Persians, reconquered by the emperor Heraclius and soon after (in 639-640) it was ultimately taken by the Arabs.

The population, however, did not convert to the religion of the conquerors and, in spite of oppressions, has been keeping its Christian traditions until our days, in which disintegration of the community started and continues through emigration. "That movement brought many Syrian Orthodox Christians to our countries. It is natural that their history, also, should be a fascinating study, injected with life by their presence among us" (p. 8, par. 5).

The author's main sources were as follows: a) The *Chronicle of 819* written in Qarṭmīn shortly after this date and edited by Patriarch 'Īgnāṭiūs Efrēm I Barṣawm, *Chronicon anonymum ad annum Domini 819 pertinens* in J.-B. Chabot (ed.), *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, I (1920), pp. 3-22, with Chabot's Latin translation.²⁵

²³ *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiae*, ed. de Boor, revised by P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972), Engl. transl.: Mary and Michael Whitby (Oxford 1986), Germ. transl.: P. Schreiner (Stuttgart 1985).

²⁴ Discovered, edited and translated into Latin by I. Guidi, *Chronica Minora I* (1903), pp. 15-39.

²⁵ An abstract of the entries concerning Tūr 'Abdīn is given on pp. 12 f. of the work under review according to the years of the Seleucid era (*AG* = *Anno Graecorum*) commonly used in Syriac sources.

b) The *Qarṭmīn Trilogy* containing three *vitae* of the patronal saints of Qarṭmīn: Samuel and Simeon, the founders of the Qarṭmīn Abbey, and Gabriel, abbot of Qarṭmīn and bishop of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn at the time of the Arab conquest.²⁶ This important text, the main source of the book, was provisionally edited and translated into English by the author himself and appended as a microfiche supplement. Unfortunately, the colophon is missing in the London manuscript on which the editions is based. The author assumes that it should not be placed long after 1000, although at the end of the manuscript there is an interpolation which must be of a later date (p. 14, par. 3).

c) The Calendar of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, the earliest surviving representative of the liturgical tradition of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, edited by P. Peeters, *Le Martyrologe de Rabban Sliba*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* 27/1908, pp. 129-200.

d) The *Book of Life*, a collection of benefactions to the monastery with lists of the names of benefactors but also of commemorative events in Qarṭmīn (where they were still undated), later in *Bēṭ Šbirīna*, where it was transported and completed by dated records of the village, the first of which is of the eleventh century and the latest of the year 1853. Parts of it were published by the patriarch Barṣawm in his *Maḳṭbānūṭā d-ʿal atrā d-ṭūr ʿabdīn* (1964), pp. 91-96, 165 f.), the rest was edited by the author according to a recent copy in microfiche appended to the book.

As already said, the main part of the book is an extensive historical, philogico-critical, archaeological, literary comparative, geographical and architectural commentary on the *Qarṭmīn Trilogy*. This complex of multiple aspects of manifold problems treated in the book makes no easy reading. One may almost apply to it the remark which the author pronounced about Wießner's *Christliche Kultbauten* that it "makes up in thoroughness what it lacks in readability".²⁷ However, the difficulties stem from the subject itself. The *Lives of the Saints* are of legendary character. At least, their legends may have been more important to their authors and/or believing narrators or listeners than their historical core. Their comparison with legends of

²⁶ An analysis of the three *vitae* compared schematically with other historical and legendary sources is given on pp. 15 f.

²⁷ See above (text to n. 17).

similar type on the one hand and of their scanty historical dates with parallel historical events on the other may give us a clue for a clearer separation of legendary material from historical and provide us with a means for a better understanding of both. In the case of growing traditions it is necessary to separate the original from the later which can again be done on a comparative basis by considering the historical circumstances of different epochs which help us to detect anachronistic elements of later versions. In a region with ancient history as Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, where some monumental Christian buildings go as far back as to the fourth century and partly rest on earlier foundations,²⁸ archaeological and architectural considerations as to what is original and what has been added later are also necessary.

Our author carried on in a praiseworthy way both a careful critical examination of the literary sources and meticulous scrutiny of the ancient Christian monuments of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn in order to explain them by each other. He certainly realized his modest “hope this will not be a ‘definitive book’: if I have done reliable groundwork on the texts and inscriptions and have enabled and inspired others to include them in general historical debates, my most important aim will have been achieved. Far from wanting to have the last word, I hope to make Ṭūr ʿAbdīn the subject of controversy, another rich field in which to test interpretations of Late Antiquity” (p. XV, par 3).

It is impossible to enter the details of this book so rich in information about the history of ancient Christian architectural remains in Ṭūr ʿAbdīn drawn from both critically edited and commented literary sources as well as from autopsy. I shall, therefore, limit myself to a few mostly philological remarks at random, as they occurred to me during the reading of the book and the microfiche edition of the texts.

P. 20 f. The founder of the abbey of Qarṭmīn was called Samuel of Eštīn in the vicinity of Mardīn. (QT²⁹ VI.8f.) No village of this name is known to-day. The inhabitants of Qēleth meant that it ought to be Meštīn on the way to Midyat, and the patriarch Barṣawm obviously agreed with them when he corrected the name to Meštīn

²⁸ E.g. Fig. 8 p. 38: “Stone, possibly identical with the ‘Hanging Stone’ identified in the *Life of Samuel* as the base for a pagan statue.”

²⁹ Qarṭmīn Trilogy.

in his edition (*Maḳṭbānūtā*, pp. 19,37). Palmer is not right that “neither Meshtīn(-e) nor Eshtin is marked on any map.” On the last map without number appended to H. Anschütz’s book (*Kartographie: Heinz Schultchen*, Hamburg 1976) a village Meštīn is marked about half the way from Mardīn to Midyat between the villages Harbeka in the west and Talat in the east (about 30 km southwards from Ziyaret, which lies in the middle of the curved asphalted road, about 7 km northwest from Mardīn to Midyat). It lies at a distance of 30 km from both Mardīn and Midyat and could, therefore, account for the mentioned vicinity of Midyat.

The original name of the village might well have been Eštīn, although it is mentioned in no other source and “has left no other trace in history.” The author was certainly right to conclude: “It therefore seems unlikely that we owe this detail to the imagination of Samuel’s hagiographer; it is rather the first indication that the hagiographer was adapting an authentic tradition.” This original Syriac name gives a clear meaning of “Sixty.” Topographical names consisting of numerals with or without the object counted, are not rare, cf. *Zweibrücken*, *Zweifall*, *Zweisimmen* etc. *Dreiborn*, *Dreieichenbain*, *Dreifürstenstein*, *Dreihausen*, etc., *Forstern*, *Viernheim*, *Vierwaldstättersee*, *Vierzehnheiligen* etc., *Siebenbach*, *Siebenbürgen* etc. up to *Ventimiglia* and the like. When the object counted was omitted, it might have been so obvious that its mentioning appeared unnecessary. Although a small hamlet is still called *tlāt-arbaʿ byūt* “three-four houses” in vulgar Arabic, “house(s)” as an object counted could easily have been omitted when the numeral was applied to the number of houses of a village. This is the first idea which must occur at the mention of *Eštīn* “Sixty” as the name of the native village of our Samuel. Even if the omitted object counted had been something other than “houses” (which is less probable and more difficult to assume), people who invented this name must certainly have known what they meant and were sure to be understood and needed not express the object counted.

Why was this clear Syriac name *Eštīn* altered to a less clear *Meštīn*? I already mentioned in another connection the very popular Oriental *Reimwortbildungen*,³⁰ i.e. use of rhyming word-pairs in which the *m*

³⁰ R. Macuch, *Altmandäische Bleirollen* in F. Altheim - R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, IV (1967), pp. 178 f.

with which the second word regularly begins replaces the first consonant of the preceding word. This word-play is certainly of Indogermanic, particularly Iranian origin, since *m(a)-* means negation in Persian. Therefore, the second word either negates the preceding one or at least indicates that it is no more to be taken seriously, e.g. Persian *kūče-mūče* "street-non-street," *šotor-motor* "camel-motor (i.e. non-camel)" etc.³¹ Under Iranian influence this word-play penetrated also into neighbouring spoken Semitic and Turkish idioms, although it might have been known in Asia Minor more than three thousand years in the Indogermanic Hittite language. J. Friedrich, in a short but important notice,³² mentioned the name of a Hittite god, *Šuhili-Muhili* as a proof of the antiquity of this *Reimwortbildung* still used in living languages of the Near East. I am no expert in Hittitology, but both second parts of this rhyming double name seem to be theophorous endings borrowed from Semitic *il* "god." The beginnings of this double name remains open to etymological speculations. Since they strongly reminded me of the frequent Persian *šūhī-mūhī* "joke-non-joke," I remarked: "*Obwohl der Erfinder dieses Namens über seine Erfindung sicher lachen mußte, war er gleichzeitig zufrieden, dem Geschmack seines Volkes entsprochen zu haben.*"³³ My spontaneous connecting of this ancient Hittite god-name with the mentioned Persian expression is certainly irrelevant for its etymology. The priest who invented this god needed not at all laugh at the invention he presented to his believers; he simply tried to satisfy their language taste. We can even not say whether the second part of the rhyme-word-compound was supposed to correct the first name or to complete and emphasize it. The latter seems to be more probable. The only thing which appears certain is the ancient popularity of rhyming word-pairs the second word of which begins with *m-*.

In order to return to *Eštīn/Meštīn*, we may certainly suppose an influence of Persian rather than an uninterrupted continuation of an ancient Hittite usage which is not yet sufficiently clear. Therefore, we may consider the second name as a negation or correction according to the living Persian usage. When the "sixty" houses (or whatever it

³¹ For further examples see loc. cit. (preceding n.).

³² *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20 (1963) 102.

³³ Loc. cit. (n. 30), p. 179.

was) grew in number (since it is unlikely that the number would always have remained the same), people might have used to say: *Eštīn-Meštīn* "Sixty-No(more-)-sixty" until, finally, the first part of this rhyme-word-composite which had nothing more to say was completely discarded and only its second part, *Meštīn*, remained.

Of course, this is not the only arbitrary possibility of explanation of the later *Meštīn* from the earlier *Eštīn*. It can be simply explained through the proclitic preposition *me-* (< *men*) contracted with the initial vowel of the original name. Since the number of houses was increasing, people might have said: *yatīr me-štīn* "More-than sixty." The comparative expression *yatīr men* is quite common in Syriac³⁴ and corresponds to *ʔad me-* "more than" in Tūrōyo.³⁵ The spoken dialect of Tūr 'Abdīn knows only the shortened form of this preposition without the final *n*,³⁶ and it may be reasonably assumed that this was the normal colloquial form already in ancient times. The comparative particle "more" preceding the preposition might have been omitted quite early for the sake of shortness, for it was easily understood, wherefore its repetition might have appeared unnecessary and superfluous.

At any rate, the form *Eštīn* seems to be original, whereas *Meštīn* is secondary but easily explainable.

P. 28 n. 40 deals with the etymology of the name Qartmīn. According to QT IX. 13 the name derives from a water-source near which the founder of the abbey, Samuel, originally settled. Although this is only an "amateur etymology," the author rightly agrees that "it is probably right for the second element, since *mīn* is the word *mayo*, 'water' in its absolute state (a form frequently found in Semitic place-names); the existence of an abundant spring on this waterless plateau is distinctive indeed."

There can be no doubt about the absolute state *mīn* "water",³⁷ although it was generally replaced by the emphatic state *maiṯā* = West Syriac *mayō*. In topographical names it was exactly the absolute

³⁴ See Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefabte syrische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 21898), § 240 D, pp. 186 f.

³⁵ See O. Jastrow, op. cit. (n. 7), § 184 b (40), p. 263.

³⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 250 ff.: *m-af* "von ... her," *me-'al* "von ... herab," *me-'ašān* "um ... willen," *'il me-* "oberhalb von, über," *me-bayne* "zwischen ... hervor" etc.

³⁷ Nöldeke, op. cit. (n. 34), § 73, 1.2, last example, p. 49.

state which was mainly preserved as the second part of genitive constructions (cf. Deralmīn = Arabic *dayr al-mīn* “monastery of the water,” p. 34 n. 4). Moreover, in Neo-Mandaic, on the other, south-east side of the Aramaic speaking world, only the absolute state *mēn* (not attested in literature!) survived and (misunderstood as a singular!!) was even provided with the ending of the emphatic state, *mēna*.³⁸ Maybe this strange and isolated Neo-Mandaic use of *mēn*, which completely pushed out the classical *meyyā*, is in the position to prove the vitality of the Aramaic absolute state *mīn*, which in Syriac dialects remained mainly in the topographical names taken over also into Arabic.

More difficult to explain is the first element of the genitive construction, *qart*. Since it is consistently pronounced with an emphatic *ṭ*, it would hardly be possible to explain it from the root QRR “to be cold, cool, fresh,” which would otherwise excellently fit “water,” for the expected “*qerath mayo* would surely have given a name with an aspirated TAW.” This was probably expected not only by “Assemani and those who copy him ... [as] Qartamin/Qartamina” but also by Payne-Smith, col. 3773a: “*qartamīn* nom. coenobii, B.O.III.I 456; rescribe “*qartamīn*.” Although the proposed emendation does neither indicate the aspiration of *t* nor does it vocalize the word correctly, it clearly shows that the authors of this famous standard dictionary of Syriac rejected the derivation of the name from the root QRT, which was hardly ever used in Pe. (col. 3741a) and would even not give the expected sense. Nevertheless, they dared not change the vocalization introduced by Assemani. Considering the consistent spelling of the name with the non-emphatic *t* throughout the QT we have to agree that this was the original form of the name, although its vocalization remains doubtful.

Since an explanation of this form defies the rules of classical Syriac, we are again forced to take recourse to the possibilities of the spoken language, even if the word *qarṭo* “freshness” can hardly be attested in contemporary Ṭūrōyo and its construct state completely disappeared. Spoken languages have quite independent means of formation which are often diametrical to literary languages. They try

³⁸ R. Macuch, *Handbook of Classical and Modern Mandaic*, Philological Index, p. 588 a, s.v. *maina mēn(ā)*, cf. idem, *Neumadäische Chrestomathie*, Glossat, p. 236.

to simplify the more complicated structures prescribed by the grammarians. Why should one say *qarat* in the construct state, when the simple dropping of the ending of the emphatic state *qart* achieves the same effect? This simplification known from Neo-Aramaic dialects may be of quite an ancient date and is confirmed already by genitive constructions of the type of *gabri'el*, although the construct state of the *nomen regens* is *gbar* (and not *gabr*). Usually a helping vowel was needed after such simply shortened emphatic states used as construct states, but it could also have passed to a semivowel or be completely omitted. I am not quite sure that the so-called *yā-ye edāfe* in Neo-Mandaic is completely due to Persian influence, since—as I said—it is somewhat superfluous.³⁹ Accordingly, all three pronunciations, **Qarta-mīn*, **Qarte-mīn* and **Qart-mīn* could have been possible side by side.

As to the change of *t* to *ṭ*, may I again refer to the strange pronunciation of the classical *manda d-biia* as *mandā-ṭ-heyyī* in Neo-Mandaic.⁴⁰ When an aspirated *d* could have been pronounced as *t* in South-East Aramaic, why a similar emphatic pronunciation of *t* in a North-West Aramaic dialect should not have been possible, especially when there is an initial velar *q* which might have caused a progressive emphatization at distance? The liquid *r* between the velar and the dental sound did not hinder the emphatization but rather favoured it, as may be proved by numerous words at least partly borrowed from Greek, cf. *qartem* κατατομῆν? (although possibly from *qtam*), *qurtmā* “*semen carthami tinctorii*,” *qurtīnas* κορτῖνα, *qertīsā* (?) κεράτιον(?), *qartīsa* χάρτης, *qirtos* (?) κηρωτός, *qritīs* (?) κριτής, *qūrit(h)as* (?) κούρητες, *qurtūsā* (?) and *qurtīsā* (< Lat. *curtus*) “a dog” as well as its diminutive *qurtīsōnā* “a small dog,” *qartūlā* Lat. *craticula*, *qūrāṭōr* κούρατωρ, Lat. *curator* as well as an abstract noun *qūrātorūtā* (Lat. *cura*) “care”.⁴¹ Although Greek τ is generally rendered by *t* in Aramaic, the plenty of examples with *qVrt* displays special popularity of *t* in this position. Therefore, it is not surprising that *Qartmīn* followed the same phonetic rule, although the name might have been of Syriac, not of foreign origin. The passing of *t* to *ṭ* might have

³⁹ R. Macuch, *Neumandäische Chrestomathie*, p. 61 (§ 20.2.2).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 233 s.v.

⁴¹ *Brockelmann LS*, p. 695 a-b, Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus*, p. 374a-3743a.

taken place quite early, and when the Nestorian author of the 9th century, Thomas of Marga, *The Book of Governors* (ed. Budge) I.91:2, II.18, used the name in this form, it was already a phonetic spelling rather than a hyper-correction. It would be foolhardy to agree that it was only since the eighteenth century that this form "has found some currency with the West-Syrians," when it was known to East-Syrians a millenium earlier.

P. 33: ult. read: *gawriyyel* [;*gabriyyel*].

Pp. 44 f. The meaning of *bēt šurōyē* used of a wall with which Mōr Samuel with Mōr Simeon and the rest of the monks surrounded their cells (QT XXVII.8) is discussed at length. Although the expression may be simply translated as 'House of Beginning(s)' and would make good sense according to the dictionaries, the author suggests another meaning: an adjective derived from *šūrō* "wall" not found in the dictionaries and proposes a translation 'House of the Men of the Wall.' He has several arguments for this proposal which need not be discussed here. Some of them are questionable. "At another place, where it does not belong to an ancient tradition (XXIX.2) we find the phrase: 'Samuel, abbot of the Shuroye'" (emended by the author from singular *šūrōyō* to plural). The author's arbitrary emendation can hardly prove that Samuel was abbot of 'the Men of the Wall' and not the first abbot (< abbot of Beginnings [of monastic life]) in Qartmîn. The naive identification by today's Syrians "of *shuroyo* with the word *šawroyo*, meaning 'a native of Şawro,' because the Founder, Samuel, was from Eshtin in the region of Şawro" was rightly rejected by the author himself "as certainly too farfetched."⁴² Nevertheless, this attempt of the author at reading behind the lines without rejecting *prima facie* later traditions is highly interesting and suggestive. Popular etymologies and traditions are rarely based on linguistic facts and in spite of that they played a great role in popular beliefs and ought not to be ignored.

Our author knew how to use the material critically and in his extensive commentary of the *QT* he displays an admirable mastery of

⁴² It is, of course, interesting that "Shura or Sura was the name of Şawro in the ninth century B.C. (Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 57-66)" (p. 46 n. 12), but the phonetic cleft between *š* and *s* is simply insurmountable, as the author also rightly recognized.

Syrian hagiography and other literary sources pertaining to the Oriental Christian history from the fourth century up to the end of the first millennium. He knew how problematic are sources in which history is mixed with legends and undertook intensive and extensive labours in order to draw a dividing line between legends and history. The former are indispensable for the understanding of the psychology of the believers as regards the men who separated themselves from the world not only through outer but also by inner walls, i.e. by subjugating their passions. These inner 'walls,' an expression which became current with its figurative meaning in Syriac literature, should prove the spiritual force of the recluses, of whom miracles were expected and reported (cf. p. 111 n. 200). Therefore, Samuel's community of 'holy' men could have been called "House of the Men of the Wall" in a double sense (*ibid.*, with nn. 203-205).

P. 120 n. 42. I do not see why Brockelmann's double reference to *ḥṭmā* (LS, col. 264a, 3. pl.) in Pognon, *Inscriptions*, p. 40 n. 5, should be considered as misleading, although it is completed by two further references to the same text. The meaning "mosaics" may be disputable, although the author finally reaches the conclusion that it can mean "'mosaics,' but only in a wide sense of the term" (p. 120, par. 3). Even the meaning pointed out by Johnson (1973) for the frequent use of HTM as 'impose the seal of the cross,' whether by a gesture or by a mark had already been registered by Brockelmann (*loc. cit.*, s.v. *ḥṭam*, meaning e:) "*cruce signavit*" as well as by Payne-Smith quoted by the author (p. 120 n. 44). Dictionaries give only expected meanings of words in texts used for their compilation. In other texts the same words may give slightly different meanings or new combinations of meanings given in dictionaries based on other material, as the author pointed out above in his discussion of the term *šurōyē*. Even in this translation "*putting together mosaics to make the form of crosses*" required the cholarly discussion he dedicated to the two problematic phrases by taking them individually and is clearly proved by Fig. 40: Cross in mosaic vault of Athanasian sanctuary, Qarṭmīn (p. 121).

Due to carelessness of the copyists or their misunderstanding of the text, conjectural emendations are sometimes necessary:

P. 124. In QT LIX. 19 - LX. 2 the length of the Anastasian church, 37 cubits, seems to be underestimated, although the other

measures, breadth, height and thickness of walls, correspond. Palmer tries to remove the difficulty by suggesting that the scribe copied numbers written with Syriac letters and might have miscopied *w* + *l* “and 30” as *m* (“40”). However, this conjecture which, otherwise, could be helpful is contradicted by the fact that there is no reason for which *waw* should have stood before *lōmad*.

P. 145, par. 1. There is no reason to suppose that *Theodora* “can be spelt identically” with the masculine form “Theodore” in Syriac. The latter preserved quite well its original Greek form, *Theodōros*, used also in QT LXXXIX: paen. Although there seems to be no ancient record of Theodora’s contacts with the monastery in Qartmīn, the fame of this patroness of the Monophysites hardly remained confined to Constantinople and its suburbs. The nowadays name of the octagon at Qartmīn, *qubtho d-Theodora*, ‘Theodora’s dome’ hardly fell down from heaven in the last centuries, even if a common belief of the kind deeds of this Byzantine empress, wife of Justinian, towards the Jacobites of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn was first launched by Socin⁴³ among western Orientalists.

P. 145, n. 2. The author agrees to the identification of Procopius’ ‘Banasymeon’ as a corruption of the Greek *to Banasymeon* from Syriac *ṭūbānā šemʿūn* “the blessed Simeon” proposed by Dillemann and generally accepted (nn. 158-9), but he rejects its identification with Qartmīn because (1) Simeon was a common name borne by many saints, and (2) the place bearing this name, refortified by Justinian according to Procopius, was a fortress, not a monastery (n. 160).

Pp. 157 ff. The author is concerned with chronological and calendar problems in the *Life of Mōr Gabriel*. With the help of the table of E.J. Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World* (1980), p. 60, fig. 8, used by the author (p. XIX: 3), it is possible to calculate the date of the week of the given year and month. Some discrepancies in the dates and the expected days of the week in the mentioned *curriculum vitae* led him to propose two emendations. This seems to be an acrobatic piece of work, although his calculations correspond to L.M. Whitby’s, conclusion that a number of dates for the latter part of the sixth century in the *chronicle of John of Ephesus* as well as in the *Chronicle 819* are one year too early (cf. p. XVIII with nn. 4-5). The

⁴³ ZDMG 35 (1881) 152, cited by Palmer, op. cit., p. 145 n. 156.

convertibility of the Seleucid era used by Syrian Christians is not free from problems, and differences in dates of the same or related events in different books are due either to a different computation or to conversion. The difference of one year is quite usual in our approximative conversions of Syriac dates, and the author himself used seventeen times double year dates in his Table 1. *Chronological table of events concerning Ṭūr ʿAbdīn before AD 800*: 396/7 traditional foundation date of Qarṭmīn Abbey; 443/4, burial vault of Qarṭmīn Abbey emptied, etc. (pp. 191-193); in the Table 2. *Recorded building in Mt Masius ... before 1200* he simplified the dates (e.g. 772 = 771/2).

In the 'Appendix: The early inscriptions of Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (pp. 200-226), epigraphical material, from the most ancient (year 534) up to the most recent inscription (year 1198/9), is briefly treated for readers not specialized in Syriac. Therefore, only translations as literal as possible with short historical commentaries are offered. The Syrologists will have to consult the author's publication of the Corpus.⁴⁴

The book is provided with 58 figures, three chronological tables, a bibliography divided according to sources and secondary literature, and two indices: Index locorum and general index. The former index will be found useful in a book in which such a plenty of Oriental and Greek authors are discussed. The general index is alphabetico-analytical: main entries are arranged alphabetically, their sub-entries chronologically or alphabetically, and further sub-entries often without any definite order. This arbitrary arrangement has many inconveniences and makes the use of the general index rather difficult. Instead of looking for each item simply in its alphabetical place the reader must know into which category the author might have put it. E.g. the names Amida, Dara, Edessa, Ḥarrān etc. are under both 'bishops' (pp. 256 f.) and 'cities' (p. 259). Under 'bishops' sub-entry 'Ḥarrān' (p. 256 b) the second bishop is Simeon of the Olives, whose sub-entry has been arranged as follows: 'as a transitional phenomenon; as builder; ascetism; as investor of church funds; ... not builder ...'! Who could believe that such accidental use or omission of the comparative particle "as" with or without the definite article could seriously have been meant as a basis for the alphabetical order of the sub-entry? On the other hand, chronological arrangement of entries

⁴⁴ See n. 14.

of historical significance has the advantage of giving immediate historical survey of the subject which is certainly welcome. An index of western authorities has been omitted and will hardly be missed by anybody, because this original research is primarily based on Oriental sources. The microfiche supplement containing a publication of the QT parallel with English translation and of the "Book of Life": followed by the translation of narrative sections enhances the value of the book through rich and important sources essential for the subject. The author has given us a boon, for which not only Syrologists and specialists of the Christian Orient but also readers interested in late Oriental antiquity and its sources will be thankful to him.

ABRAHAM IBN EZRA'S BIBLICAL HEBREW LEXICON: THE MINOR PROPHETS: II

BY

TAKAMITSU MURAOKA and ZIVA SHAVITSKY

The following entries have been found missing in the previous instalment (*Abr-Nahrain* 28 [1990] 53-75).

גהה Qal: apparently as in Pr 17.22 /yēṭiv gēhā/ (on Ho 5.13).
מִשְׁפָּט opp. /'āwel/ done to a fellow human being, and defrauding and cheating (on Mi 6.8).

The following completes our work on the Minor Prophets:

- נָא** = /'attā/ “now” (on Am 7.2).
נִסְפִּים: the third radical doubled as in Pr 27.15 /sagrir/ (on Ho 2.4).
נבט Hi.: = /ra'a/ “to look at” (on Hb 2.15); in order to perceive visually (on Za 12.10).
נְבִיא: one on whom the divine spirit rests (on Am 2.11); sim. to /sofe/ (on Ez 3.17, 33.7 ad Am 3.7).
נְבִלּוּת: of the same formation as Ec 11.10 /yaldut/ and /šahḥarut/, and a vile deed associated with exposing one's private parts (on Ho 2.12).
נֶגֶב: a place name or specific reference to the Negev Desert (on Ob 19).
נדר Hi.: = /gilla/ “to reveal” (on Jn 1.10).
נֶמֶה: sim. to Ex 13.21 etc. /'ammud 'ēš/ (on Hb 3.4); syn. with /bārāq/ (on Hb 3.11).
נִגַּשׁ Qal: to act in some way with hostile intent (on Za 9.8).
Hi.: = /qarav/ “to approach” (on Am 9.10); = /hiqriv/ “to bring near, offer” (on Am 5.25, 6.3).
נִדְּבָה: adverbially with /'āhav/, “to love willingly” (on Ho 14.5).
נדר Qal: “to keep away, distance oneself” (on Na 3.7); “to run away, flee” (on Ho 7.13).
נדה Pi.: “to keep away” (on Am 6.3).
גהה Qal: apparently as in Pr 17.22 /yēṭiv gēhā/ (on Ho 5.13).
נהר Qal: “to run” (on Mi 4.1).

נוב Pol.: tr. like /šōvēv/ and /qōmēm/, and cf. Ps 92.15 /ynuvuv bšēvā/ and Is 57.19 /niv šfātāyim/ (on Za 9.17).

נוד Qal: as in Job 2.11 /lāvō' lānud lō/ (on Na 3.7).

נוה Qal: "to rest" (on Hb 2.5).

נוה: "pasture" (on Am 1.2); a place rich in water (on Ho 9.13); /n'ōt/ = /nwōt/ as in Ze 2.6 /nwōt krōt rō'im/ (on Jl 1.19).

נוח Qal: "to find rest" (on Hb 3.16).

Hi.: + /ruah/ as obj. "to set one's mind at ease," cf. Pr 16.32 /umōšēl bruḥō/ (on Za 6.8).

Ho.: /hunniḥā/, compounded from /hunnḥā/ and /hinniḥā/, cf. Jer 22.23 **יִשְׁכְּתִי בְּלִבְנוֹן מִקְנוֹתֵי בְּאֵרִים** and Ps 88.17 **צִמְחוֹתַי** (on Za 5.11).

נום Qal: cf. Ps 121.4 /lō' yānum/ (on Na 3.18). < Cf. Men. 255. >

נוס Qal: = /barah/ "to flee" (on Na 2.9); = /nimlaṭ/ "to escape" (on Am 5.19).

Hitpol.: "to look like a flag" (on Za 9.16).

נוע Hi.: into exile (on Am 9.9).

נוף Hi.: + /yad-/ and /'al/ with hostile intent (on Za 2.13).

נור Qal: "to clear (a field) of thorns and stones" (on Ho 10.12).

נון: a woman's ornamental accessory to be worn on the nose (on Ho 2.15).

נזר Ni.: "to abstain from delicacies and food" (on Za 7.3).

נחם: as in Gn 6.6, Ex 32.14, 2Sm 24.16, Jer 26.19 (cf. also ib 26.13) /wayyinnāhem yhw/; an anthropomorphism (on Ho 11.8).

נחל Qal: "to inherit," cf. Ex 34.9 /unḥaltānu/ or transitively as in Nu 34.17 /'āšer yinḥālu lāhem/ (on Za 2.16).

נחם: "regretting," cf. Gn 6.6 /wayyinnāhem yhw/ (on Ho 13.14).

נחם: /niḥam/, Ni. pf. from the root /n-ḥ-m/ (on Am 7.3); /niḥām/, adj. < ptc. > with the assimilated Nun (on Jl 2.13); /niḥām/, ptc. on account of the Qamatz (on Jn 4.2).

נִקְשָׁ: large fish resembling a snake, cf. Is 27.1 /nāḥāš bāriah ... nāḥāš 'āqallātōn/ (on Am 9.3).

נחת Hi.: "to bring down" (on Jl 4.11). < Cf. Rashi. >

נטה Hi.: Ho 11.4 /'aṭ/ is a verb form comparable to /'aṭṭe/ (on Ho 11.4); obj. /mišpāt/ understood (on Am 2.8).

נטע Qal: = /šatal/ "to plant" (on Am 9.15).

נטף Qal: "to flow, stream" (/nāzal/), fig. (on Jl 4.18).

Hi.: "to speak by hints" as in Mi 2.11 /whāyā maṭṭif hā'am hazze/ (on Am 7.16).

נֹשֵׁ Qal: /yittōš/; cf. 1Sm 30.16 /whinnē ntušim/ (on Ho 12.15).

נֵיב: “bread,” cf. /tnuvā/, and Is 57.19 /niv šfātayim/, i.e. “fruit of lips” (on Ma 1.12).

נֹכַח Hi.: “to strike, hit” (on Ho 6.1); for the sense “to extend, reach,” cf. Nu 34.11 /umāhā ‘al ketef yām hakkinneret/ (on Ho 14.5).

Ho.: of tree (on Ho 9.16).

נֹכַח /nḥōḥā/, an adj. for the missing /dereḥ/ (on Am 3.10).

נָכַל Qal: “to act deceitfully” (on Ma 1.14). < Cf. Saadia, *Egron*, p. 334, and Men. 214. >

נֹכַח: “calamity” of unheard-of dimensions (on Ob 12).

נֹכַח: /’ekkehā/ is not from /kārā/ ‘to purchase, acquire’ as in Dt 2.6 /tiḥru mē’ittām/, but from /n-k-r/ Hi., though one would have expected /’akkirehā/. Or possibly Qal, though the root is not attested in Qal, or the seghol here is in lieu of patach as in Ez 16.11 /wā’ē’deḥ ‘ediy/ and Ex 33.3 /pen ‘āḥelḥā baddāreḥ/, and cp. 1Sm 14.22 /wayyadbqu/ < Hi. without Yod > (on Ho 3.2). < Cf. Friedlaender, *Essays*, p. 167. >

נֹכַח: “foreign, unusual” (on Ze 1.8).

נִמְרָץ: “complete, utter” (on Mi 2.10).

נָסַע Qal: in flight (on Za 10.2).

נָעַל: insignificant object (on Am 8.6).

נָעַם: cf. /nā’im/ (on Za 11.7).

נָעַר: “(stray) lamb” (on Za 11.16).

נָפַח Hi.: “to turn into soot, an object of no value” (on Ma 1.13).

נֶפֶשׁ: = /lev/ “mind” (on Mi 7.3).

נָצַג Hi.: cf. Gn 30.38 /wayyaššēg ‘et hammaqlōt/ (on Ho 2.5).

נָצַל Hi.: “to separate out, remove” (on Ho 2.11).

נָצַר Qal: /nāšōr/, inf. < abs. > like Ex 18.23 /wyāḥoltā ‘āmōd < ! > / acc. to Samuel ha-Nagid, so /šappē/ (Na 2.2) and Dn 9.24 /lḥallē’ happeša’/ (on Na 2.2).

נָקַב Qal: pass.ptc. /nāquv/ < “holey” > leading to the loss of contents (on Hg 1.6); cf. Nu 1.17 /’āšer niqqvu bšēmōt/ (on Am 6.1B).

נָקַד Qal: ptc., “shepherd,” cf. 2Kg 3.4 (on Am 1.1).

נָקַח Pi.: “not to revenge, punish” (on Jl 4.21).

נָקִיָּין: “being free from, lacking sth” (on Am 4.6); related to /nāqiy/ “innocent” (on Ho 8.5).

נָקַם Qal: “to take vengeance” (on Na 1.2).

נָרַ: enables one to conduct a thorough search, cf. Pr 20.27 /nēr yhw h nišmat 'ādām ḥōfēs kol ḥadrē vāten/ (on Ze 1.12).

נָשָׂא Qal: “to elevate, exalt” (on Ho 13.1); “to rise high” or “to rear its head” (on Hb 1.3); “to take (for oneself)” (on Mi 2.2); as in Job 32.22 /kimʿat yiššāʿēni ʿōšēni/, and used of Israelites being taken to exile (on Ho 1.6); + obj. /yad/ in swearing (on Dt 32.40 ad Am 4.2 and Hb 3.10). + obj. /pnē-/ in order to accede to somebody’s request (on Ma 1.8); + obj. /ʿāwōn/ “to forgive” (on Mi 7.18), cf. Lv 16.22 /wnāšāʿ haššāʿir ʿālāw ʿet kol ʿāwōnōtām/ (on Ho 14.3).

Of tree and + /priy/, opp. dried up trees as in Jl 1.12 (on Jl 2.22); of blossoms, not of leaves (on Hg 2.19).

Pace R. Jonah (“to take fright” as in Ps 88.16 /nāšāʿti ʿēmehā ʿāfunā/), “to go up in flames” as in 2Sm 5.21 /wayyisāʿēm dāwid waʿanāšāw/ “and David and his men burned them” (on Na 1.5).

Ni.: /nišēʿt/, “borne, carried,” ptc. used adjectivally (on Za 5.7). **נָשָׂא** Hi.: “to reach” (on Za 1.6).

נָחִיב: a familiar place with telltale marks (on Ho 2.8).

נָתַן Qal: “to sell” w. Beth pretii (on Jl 4.3); as in Ho 12.13 /wayyaʿāvōd yisrāʾēl bʾiššā/ (on Mi 6.7); 2. = /ʿazav/ “to abandon (evil ways)” or “to allow, enable” as in Gn 20.6 /ʿal kēn lōʾ ntattiḥā/ (on Ho 5.4, = Ra; on Mi 5.2).

נָתַשׁ Ni.: “to be removed” (on Am 9.15).

סָבָא Qal: “to drink (wine) excessively”; **סָבֹוא** “drunken” (on Ho 4.18; Na 1.10). < Cf. Men. 261. >

סָבַח Qal: cf. Gn 22.13 /neʿḥaz bassvah/ (on Na 1.10).

סָגַג: /yissag/ Qal = /yaššig/ (on Mi 2.6).

סָגַר Hi.: “to deliver (into the hands of)” as if to close in on sbd (on Ob 14).

סָסַס: used in war (on Mi 5.9); w. ref. to horseman (on Am 6.12); metaphorically of clouds (on Hb 3.8).

סָוַף: Hi. **אָסוּף** cf. Ps 73.19 /sāfu tammu/; some hold that /ʾ/ of /ʾāsōf/ is superfluous as in Is 28.28 /ʾādōš ydušennu/ (on Ze 1.2).

סָוֶפָה: /sufātā/ with the secondary Taw as in Ex 15.16 /ʿēmātā/ (on Ho 8.7); characterised by its great speed (on Na 1.3).

סָוַר Qal: “to speak rebelliously” (on Ho 7.14). < Men., 272: “rebellion”. >

סִיר: “thorn” (on Na 1.10); as in Ec 7.6 /ki ḥqōl hassirim/ and Na 1.10 /ki ʿad sirim svuḥim/ (on Ho 2.8).

סִיר: cooking utensil (on Za 14.21).

סִירָה: as in Na 1.10 /sirim svuḥim/ (on Am 4.2).

סְבוּת: burden borne willingly, from the root S-K-T as in Dt 27.9 /haskēt ušmaʿ/ <sim. R. Jonah s.v.>, and cf. Arb /sakata/ <which, however, means “to be quiet,” and see Bacher, 169> (on Am 5.26). <Ad Dt 27.9, IE says that the word is hapax.>

סִכָּךְ: “large wooden turret” (on Na 2.6).

סִלַח Qal: obj. ‘the iniquity of Jacob’ understood (on Am 7.2).

סַעַר: “stormy wind” (on Am 1.14).

סַעַר: /ysōʿēr/ of a blowing gust; the form is irregular for /ysōʿar/ (on Ho 13.3).

Pi.(?): “to cause a storm and scatter” (on Za 7.14).

סַעַר: “stormy wind” (on Am 1.14).

סַעַר Qal: “to shake” as in Za 7.14 /wʿēsāʿārēm/ (on Hb 3.14).

סָף: cf. Ex 12.22 /min haddām ʾāšer bassāf/ and 2Sm 17.28 /miškāv wsappōt/ (on Za 12.2). <Cf. Men. 269.>

סַפַּח Pi.: cf. 1Sm 2.36 /sfāḥēni nāʾ/ (on Hb 2.15).

סַפַּן Qal: cf. 1Kg 7.3,7, Jer 22.14 /wsāfun bāʿerez/ (on Hg 1.4).

סִפְרָה = /miḥtav/, “something written” (on Ma 3.16).

סָרוּחַ: adj., (of person) “stretched (on a bed),” and cf. Ex 26.12 /wseraḥ hāʿōdēf/ (on Am 6.4A), or “outstretched” of colourful, flowing robe (on Am 6.4B).

סָרַף Pi.: hapax, ptc., not “maternal uncle” (Quraysh) nor “to rescue out of fire” as if Samekh = Sin <so Men., 390>, and in Pi. one would expect a privative connotation as in Ps 52.7 /šērešḥā/ and Is 10.33 /msāʿēf puʾrā/ <but see IE on Lv 6.19, and in his alternative comm. he identifies סָרַף with שָׂרַף> (on Am 6.10).

סָרַר Qal: “to wander away from the right path” (of a cow with which therefore one cannot plough) (on Ho 4.16). <Men., 272: “rebelliousness”>. /kātēf sōreret/, sim. to /qšē ʿōref/ (on Za 7.11).

עֲבוּת: tied to a ploughing heifer (on Ho 11.4).

עֲבַט Pi.: = /ʾiwwēt/ “to bend,” so in Arabic <perh. IE means /ʾabita/ [Goldziher, apud Bacher, p. 169]> (on Jl 2.7). <Sim. Men., 275, and Ibn Balʿam, cf. JQR 15 (1924-25) 26, and cf. Lipshitz ad loc.>

עֲבָטִיט: “mire” (on Hb 2.6).

עבר Qal: “not to recur” (on Na 1.12). **2.** + /ʿal pešaʿ/ “to forgive” (on Mi 7.18); as in Pr 19.11 /wtifʿartō ʿāvōr ʿal pāšaʿ/, lit. “to pass over, go over (to),” or acc. to some (incl. Jepheth), “to forgive” (on Am 7.8, 8.2) < so Men. 275. > **3.** fig. “to visit with anger” (on Am 5.17).

Hi.: “to remove” (on Jn 3.6).

עבש Qal: hapax, and acc. to R. Jonah, = /hitʿappēš/ “to become parched” (on Jl 1.17). < Cf. Saadia, *Sabʿin*, s.v. >

עבת Pi.: related to /ʿāvōtim/; “to add and expand” (on Mi 7.3).

עַד: /lʿad/ “for ever” or acc. to R. Moses, /ʿad/ = “to spoil” as in Gn 49.27 /babbōqer yōʿḥal ʿad/, and this is a verb as in Is 45.1 /lrad lfānāw gōyim/ (on Ze 3.8).

עֲדַר: “one who discloses” (on Ma 3.5).

עֶד: “a warning” (on Mi 1.2).

עדה Qal: (of a harlot) “to put on (ornamental accessories in order to please her customer)” (on Ho 2.15). < Sim. Men., 277. >

עוּנָה: metaph. referring to counsel, advice (on Ho 7.8).

עוֹלָה: leads to favouritism and showing of partiality (on Ma 2.6).

עוֹן: “penalty” as in Gn 4.13 /gādōl ʿāwōni minnśōʾ/; “distress; stigma,” cf. Nu 5.31 /wniqqā hāʾiš mēʿāwōn/ and ib. /whāʾiššā hahīʾ tiššāʾ ʿet ʿāwōnāh/ (on Za 3.4, 9).

עוֹן Q (עֵין): a measure as in 1Sm 14.14 /kvaḥṣi maʿānā/ and Ps 129.3 /heʿriḥu lmaʿānitām/ (on Ho 10.10). < Cf. Men., 285. >

עוף Qal: “to fly away to become invisible” (on Na 3.16). Jepheth adduces Is 11.14 /wʿāfu vḥātēf plištīm/ (on Za 5.1).

עוֹף: a symbol of speed (on Ho 9.11).

עור: /nēʾōr/, Ni. pf. like /nāḥōn/ with the same vowel pattern as in the ptc. (on Za 2.17).

עור Qal: cf. Ps 44.24 /ʿurā lāmmā tišan/ (on Hb 2.19).

Ni.: “to become awake,” not to be woken up by someone else (on Za 4.1). /tēʾōr/, cf. /tikkon/ in Ps 93.1, 96.10 /ʿaf tikkōn tēvël/; “to be exposed” (on Hb 3.9).

עור: fig. for wealth and possessions (on Mi 3.2).

עוֹשׂ Qal: “to assemble,” related to Job 38.32 /ʿayiš/, a tightly knit constellation of seven stars (on Jl 4.11). < Cf. Trg. and see IE on Job 4.19. >

עֲטַף Hit.: cf. Ps 102.1 /ḥi yaʿāṭōf/ (on Jn 2.8).

עֶטְרָה: regal (on Za 6.11).

עֵי: “ruins,” cf. Ps 79.1 /l’iyim/ (on Mi 1.6). <So Saadia, *Egbron*, p. 305.> The pl. ending Nun as in Dn 12.13 /qēṣ hayyāmin/, Job 24.22 /baḥayyin/, and Ez 4.9 /ḥiṭṭin/ (on Mi 3.12).

עֵין: of a watchful eye (on Za 4.10); (the right) eye in which resides counsel of wisdom (on Za 11.17); of God’s eyes w. ref. to the sky (on Jn 2.5).

עִיפָה: “darkness” as in Job 10.22 /’ereṣ ’ēfātā kmō ’ōfel/ (on Am 4.13).

עִיק Hi.: tr., “to weigh down” and syn. with /hēṣiq/ (on Am 2.13B), or intr. “to be weighed down, exhausted” (on Am 2.13).

עִיר: walled around (on Mi 5.10).

עָכַר Qal: “to disturb, trouble” (on the etymology of עָכֹר Ho 2.17).

עָל: a noun is understood, so /lō’ ’āl/ “not out of real necessity” (on Ho 7.16).

עָל: /’el ’al/—as in 2Sm 23.1 /n’um haggever huqam ’āl/, /’al/ is a <substantivised> adjective synonymous with /’elyōn/ (on Ho 11.7).

עָלָה Qal: lit., or “to be destroyed” as in Gn 49.4 /yṣu’i ’ālā/ (on Za 14.13); of the rising level of the Nile in the month of Tammuz (on Am 9.5).

עָלָהּ: same as /’awlā/, and on the formation of the noun, cf. Dt 28.25 /za’āwā/ and Is 28.19 /zwā’ā/ (on Ho 10.9).

עָלוּ Qal: /’olzi/, formed like Jdg 9.10,12 /molḥi ’ālēnu/ (on Ze 3.14). = /šamah/ “to rejoice” (on Hb 3.18).

עָלִיצוֹת: cf. 1Sm 2.1 /’ālaṣ libbi/, and acc. to R. Moses, “to rejoice” (on Hb 3.14).

עָלַם Ni.: “to become dazed as a result of heavy drinking,” cf. Ob 16 /wšātu wlā’u whāyu klō’ hāyu/ (on Na 3.11).

עָלַף Hit.: “to clothe oneself with clothes,” cf. Am 8.13 /tit’allafnā/ and Gn 38.14 /wathas baṣṣā’if wattit’allāf/ (on Jn 4.8).

עָצָם: “congregaton, assemblage” (/ḥibbur/), cf. Ez 31.8 /’ārāzim lō’ ’āmāmuhu/ “they did not form an integral unit with it,” hence their designation /gōy/ given to a swarm of locusts at Jl 1.6 (on Jl 2.2).

עָמַד Qal: “to stop running, and not flee” (on Na 2.9); 2. of infant, “to stay alive” (on Ho 13.13).

עָמְדָה: “a place where one stands” (on Mi 1.11).

עָמָל: opp. sanctity and righteousness (on Hb 1.13).

עָמַק Hi.: /paḥ/ as obj. understood (on Ho 5.2).

ענה Qal: “to be the first to speak” as in Job 3.2 /wayya’an ’iyyōv/, or more likely <“to answer”> (on Za 1.12). **2.** “to grant a request” as in Ec 10.19 /hakkeseṣ ya’āne ’et hakkōl/ (on Ho 14.9). **3.** “to testify (against ב) (on Mi 6.3). <So Men. 284.>

ענה Qal: “to play (a musical instrument) and sing (a song)” as in Ex 15.21 /watta’an lāhem miryām/, and <pace Men., 285> unlikely “to dwell” as in Is 13.22 /w’ānā ’iyim b’almnōtāw/ <but see IE ad loc.> and Ps 90.1 /mā’ōn ’attā hāyitā llānu/ (on Ho 2.17); **b.** “to provide, furnish” as in Ec 10.19 /whakkeseṣ ya’āne ’et hakkōl/ and /’e’ēne ’et haššāmāyim/ amounts to the opp. of Lv 26.19 /wnātatti ’et šmēhem kabbarzel/ and /hēm (= haššāmāyim) ya’ānu ’et hā’areṣ/ connotes ‘they will bring down dew and rain in their time’ (on Ho 2.23).

ענה Qal: *pace* Jephethh, not related to Job 16.8 /bfānay ya’āne/, but derivable from **עני** (on Ho 5.5). See also on Ho 7.10.

ענה: from the context, “grandson” (on Ma 2.12).

ענן Polel: “to observe clouds (/’ānān/)” to divine future events (on Mi 5.11).

ענן: /’ānan bōqer/ of sth ephemeral (on Ho 6.4, 13.3); situated below skies (on Na 1.3).

עסס Qal: “to tread” grapes with feet, cf. /’āsis/ (on Ma 3.21).

עסיס: cf. Ma 3.21 /’āssōtem ršā’im/, for it is trodden with feet (on Jl 1.5).

עפל: cf. Is 32.14 /’ōfel wāvaḥan/ (on Mi 4.8).

עפל Pu.: “to become haughty,” cf. Is 32.14 /’ōfel wavaḥan/ (on Hb 2.4).

עפר: /ke’āfār/ “abundantly” (on Ze 1.17).

עפרת: a heavy substance (on Za 5.7).

עץ: used as idol, an object of worship (on Ho 4.12).

עצב: some wrongly cite Is 58.3 /wḥol ’aššvēhem tingōšu/, but one should really cite Jer 22.28 /ha’eṣev nivze/, and Ps 106.38 /la’āšabbē ḥnā’an/, in which the word concerned is related to Gn 3.17 /’iṣṣāvōn/ “toil, labour” <see IE on Ps 115.4>, for there is no use in idols (on Ho 4.17). <Men., 288: “idols”>

עצם: of corpse (on Am 6.10).

עצרה: “work-ban,” but acc. to Jepheth, “assembly” as in Jer 9.1 /’āšeret bōgdim/ (on Jl 1.14).

עצרת: ellip. for /yōm ’āšeret/ (on Am 5.21).

עקב Qal: “to seize by the heel,” cf. Gn 25.26 (on Ho 12.4).

עקב: as in Jer 17.9 /^ʿāqōv hallēv mikkōl/ and 2Kg 10.19 /^ʿāsā v^ʿoqbā/ (on Ho 6.8).

עקש Pi.: “to do injustice” (on Mi 3.9).

עַר: from the context, “son” (Ma 2.12).

ערג Qal: “to cry out,” cf. Ps 42.2 (on Jl 1.20B).

ערה Pi.: “to expose” (on Ze 2.14).

עָרוֹם: “undressed,” not applicable to one who is wearing a sackcloth“ as can be seen from Is 20.2 ”Go and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and put off thy shoe from thy foot. And he did so, walking naked (/^ʿārōm/) and barefoot“ (on Mi 1.8).

עָרוֹת: /māḥaš ^ʿārōt/ “to expose” (on Hb 3.13). < So Men. 290.>

עָרִיָּה: “exposure,” cf. Is 22.6 /wqir ^ʿērā māgēn/ (on Hb 3.9).

עֲרֻמָּה: of grain (on Hg 2.16).

עֲרַף Qal: “to destroy”; cf. Ex 13.13, 34.20 /wa^ʿāraftō/ (on Ho 10.2). < = R. Jonah.>

עָרֶשׂ: syn. with /mittā/ “bed” (on Am 3.12).

עשה Qal: /kālā/ as obj. understood; *pace* R. Moses < so Men. 286, 295>, who compares Ez 23.3 /wšām ^ʿiššu daddē btulēhen/, which has the verb in a different conjugation, Pi. (on Ze 3.19); obj. /mišpāt/ understood (on Ma 3.17). 2. = /hāfah/ “to transform” (on Am 4.13).

עֶשֶׂר: connoting a large number, cf. 1Sm 1.8 /^ʿāsārā bānim/ (on Am 6.9, Za 8.23).

עָשׂ: < of a moth> eating away (on Ho 5.12).

עשק Qal: by means of seduction, fraud or deception such as withholding (?) a loan or wages (on Mi 2.2); cf. 1Sm 12.3 /^ʿet mi ^ʿāšaqtī ^ʿet mi raššōti/(on Am 4.1).

עשת Hit.: “to think of, have thought for” as in Ps 40.18 /^ʿādōnāy yaḥšōv li/, and cf. Ps 146.4 /^ʿāvdu ^ʿeštōnōtāw/ and the numeral /^ʿaštē ^ʿāsār/(on Jn 1.6). < So Men. 294.>

עֵת: “a while, short while” (on Ho 13.13).

עֲתָה = /mhera/ “shortly, in the near future” (on Mi 7.4).

עֲתָרִי: place name; acc. to some, “those who plead” (on Ze 3.10).

פָּאָה = /šad/ “corner” (on Am 3.12).

פָּאָרִיר: from the root /p²-r/ with secondary gemination of Resh as in /sagrir/; cf. Jl 2.10, 4.15 /^ʿāsfu noghām/. Jepheth thinks that the Alef is

secondary and the word means “darkness, blackness” (on Jl 2.6).
<For further literature, see Lipshitz ad loc.>

פָּגַר: “the slain in a battle” <so Men. 298> (on Am 8.3).

פָּגַח Qal: “to cease to exist and operate,” cf. Gn 45.26 /wayyāfōg libbō/ “his heart stopped beating,” followed by ib. 45.27 /watthī ruaḥ yaʿāqōv ʾāvihem/ and La 2.18 /ʾal tittni fugat/ (on Hb 1.4).

פָּוַח Hi.: cf. Ps 10.5 /yāfiah bāhem/ (on Hb 2.3).

פָּוֶץ Hi.: = /pizzer/ “to scatter” (on Hb 3.14).

פָּוֶץ Qal: to grow, expand <as a result of spreading> (on Za 1.17).

פְּוֹצִי: place name; acc. to some, “the dispersed” (on Ze 3.10).

פָּוַשׁ Qal: “to spread out,” *pace* Jepheth, according to whom it means “to multiply” as in TJ ad loc. (on Hb 1.8).

Ni.: “to get dispersed, spread,” cf. Hb 1.8 /ufāšu pāṛāšaw/ and Ma 3.20 /wiṣāʾtem ufiṣtem/ (on Na 3.18).

פָּוַח: “an obstacle placed in one’s path” (on Ho 5.1).

פָּוַח Qal: “to hasten (from alarm)”;

cf. Ho 11.11 /yeḥerdu ḥṣippōr mimmiṣrayim/ (on Ho 3.5).
פָּוַח: cf. Hg 1.1 etc. /paḥat yhudā/ (on Ma 1.8), and Ma 1.8 /haqribēhu nāʾ lfeḥāteḥā/ and Ne 5.14 /lihyōt peḥām/, and in Persian /tiršātāʾ/ (on Hg 1.14); = /našiʾ/ (ad Hg 2.22).

פָּוַח Qal ptc.: “empty” as in Gn 49.4 /paḥaz kammayim/ (on Ze 3.4).

פָּלָדָה: hapax, perh. resulting by metathesis from /lāpid/ (on Na 2.4).

פָּלַט Hi.: “to give birth” (on Mi 6.14).

פָּלִיטָה: “what remains” (on Jl 2.3).

פָּלַשׁ Hit.: cf. Jer 6.26 /hitpallši vāʿēfer/ (on Mi 1.10).

פָּוַח Hi.: “to turn one’s face (towards sth)” (on Na 2.9).

פָּוַח: like /givʿa/ “mound, hill” (on Ze 1.16).

פָּסָל: made of wood and stones (on Mi 5.12).

פָּעַל: “action to be taken, that which is to be done” (on Hb 3.2).

פָּצַח Pi.: “to shout” as in Is 14.7 /pāṣḥu rinnā/, but acc. to some, = “to break” (on Mi 3.3).

פָּקַח: hardly related to Pr 8.35 /wayyāfeq rāšōn/, but rather 1Sm 25.31 /lfuqā ulmiḥšōl/ (on Na 2.11).

פָּקַח Qal: + /ʿayin/ as obj. in order to protect (on Za 12.4).

פָּרָא: cf. Gn 16.12 /pereʾ ādām/ (on Ho 8.9).

פָּרָא Hif.: /yafriʾ/ = /yafre/ יַפְרֶה as in /heḥlēlʾ/ = /heḥlēlā/ <cf. Is 53.10> (on Ho 13.15).

פָּרָה: fig. applied to a prince’s wife (on Am 4.1).

פָּרָדָה: “sown seed of wheat and barley” (on Jl 1.17).

פָּרָוָה: situated outside of city-walls for protection against assailing enemies (on Za 2.8 and 9).

פֶּרֶט Qal: “to sing unrhymed short songs” (on Am 6.5).

פֶּרִי: /pri beten/ “child” (on Mi 6.7).

פָּרַץ Qal: “to increase, multiply (intr.)” as in Gn 30.43 /wayyifrōš hā’iš/ (on Ho 4.10); related to Jer 7.11 /pārišim/ (on Ho 4.2).

פָּרֶץ: in a wall (on Am 4.3). <So Ra.>

פָּרָק: “crossroads” (on Ob 14).

פָּרַשׁ Qal: /p. rešet ‘al/ “to spread a net over sbd” so that he may not flee (as against /... l-/) (on Ho 7.12); as in Is 58.7 /pārōš lārā’ēv laḥmeḥā/ (on Mi 3.3).

Pi.: <“to scatter”> (on Za 2.10).

פָּשַׁע Qal: “to step beyond what is permissible” as in Ex 22.8 /‘al kol dvar peša’/ <cf. IE’s shorter com. ad loc.> and 2Kg 8.22 /’āz tifša’/ (on Ho 14.10).

פָּתַח: “sword” <so Men. 306>, cf. Ps 55.22 /whēmmā ptiḥōt/ or acc. to some, “entrance (to a city)” (on Mi 5.5).

[צִאִי]: of garments, opposite of “splendid, glorious” (on Za 3.3).

צָבָא pl., = /mal’āḥim/ “angels” (on Ho 12.6).

צָבָה = **צָבָא** (on Za 9.8).

צָדָה Ni.: as in Trg תהו “to be desolate” (on Ze 3.6).

צָדָקָה: “kindly deed” (on Mi 6.5). **b.** either “to be /ṣaddiq/” or “justice meted out in the way of avenging” (on Mi 7.9).

צָהָרִים: “midday” (on Am 8.9).

צִוִּי = /mišwā/ “commandment of human origin” as in Is 28.13 /ṣaw lāšāw/ (on Ho 5.11).

צִוָּה Pi.: “to decree” (on Na 1.14), as in Ps 148.5 /ki hu’ ṣiwwā wnivrā’u/ (on Am 6.11). <See Simon ad loc.>

צִוֵּם Qal: intr. vb, hence /ṣamtuni/ = “... in my honour, for my sake” (Za 7.5); /lhit’annōt/ = “to fast” (ad Za 7.7).

צִוֵּם: practised as a sign of soul-searching (on Jl 2.12).

צִוְחָה hapax, and syn. with /b’ōš/ <so Rashi and Men., 317.17> with which it is coupled for emphasis’ sake (on Jl 2.20).

צִיָּה: /‘ereṣ ṣiyyā/ “waste land where no food is to be found” (on Jl 2.20).

צָלַ /yōšvē bšillō/ applied to his servants and employees (on Ho 14.8).

צָלַח Qal: tr., “to split” as in 2Sm 19.18 /wšālhu hayyardēn/ (on Am 5.6). <so Trg to 2Sm 19.18, Ra., Men., and R. Jona>

צָלַל Qal: cf. /mšiltayim/ (on Hb 3.16). <So Men. 318.>

צֶלֶם = /dmuṭ/ “image” (on Am 5.26).

צָלַע Qal: “to have difficulty in walking fast” (on Mi 4.6).

צָמַק /šōmēq/ = /šimmuqim/; “dry, dried up” (of breasts) (on Ho 9.14).

צָנָה: cf. Nu 33.55 /ulišninim/ and Pr 22.5 /šninim paḥim/ (on Am 4.2).

צִנְתָּרוֹת: “that in which olives are crushed” (on Za 4.12).

צָעִיר: “small” (on Mi 5.1).

צָעַר Qal: ptc. used adjectivally like /’ōvdim/, cf. Job 14.21 /yihbdu vānāw wlō’ yēdā’ wyiṣ’āru/ (on Za 13.7). <Cf. Men. 322.>

צָפָה Qal: “to watch out to determine what future will bring about” (on Ho 9.8).

Pi.: “to stay awake and watch out” (on Hb 2.1); /šappē/, inf. <abs.> “to post sentinel (/šōfe/)” (on Na 2.2).

צָפוֹן opp. /tēmān/ (on Za 6.6).

צָפֹר = /’of/ “fowl” of the sky (on Ho 11.11; Am 3.5).

צָפוּנִי: “northern” (on Jl 2.20).

צָר: “hostile besieging army” (on Am 3.11, and cf. on Am 4.2, where /šar/ = /’oyev/); “adversary” (on Za 8.10).

צָרָה: brought about by /šār/ “enemy” (on Hb 3.16).

צָרֹר: as in Pr 7.20 /šrōr hakkesef/ (on Hg 1.6).

צָרַח Qal: = /ša’aq/ “to shout, cry out” (on Ze 1.14).

צָרַר /šārur/ <“bound up, kept”> in one’s mind for memory (on Ho 13.11).

צָרַר Qal: in court cases (on Am 5.12).

קָבַע Qal: “to withhold a due” (on Ma 3.10).

קָבַץ Pi.: “to contract,” opp. “to spread” (on Jl 2.6).

קָדוֹשׁ w. ref. to angel (on Za 14.5).

קָדִים: “east wind,” which is strong (on Hb 1.9); /ruaḥ qādim/ from the east (on Jn 4.8).

קָדַם Pi.: “to seek sbd’s pleasure or favour” (on Mi 6.6).

קֶדֶם = /mizrah/ “east” (on Za 14.4).

קֶדְמוֹנִי: “eastern” <so Rashi> in relation to Jerusalem (on Jl 2.20).

קֶדֶר Qal: “to become dark” (on Jl 2.10). <Cf. Men., p. 334*.>

קֶדְרוֹנִית cf. Ps 35.14 /qōdēr šahōti/, expression of awe towards God (on Ma 3.14).

קֶדֶשׁ Qal: opp. /tāmē’/ (on Hg 1.12).

Pi.: “to prepare (a war)” (on Jl 1.14, 4.9).

Hi.: “to assemble” (on Ze 1.7).

קֶדֶשׁ /qōdeš yhwh/, w. ref. to sons and daughters of Israel, cf. Dt 32.19 /mikka’as bānim uvānōt/ (on Ma 2.11). 2. “heaven, sky” by which to swear (on Am 4.2). 3. literally <pace Ra., for example> (on Hg 2.12).

קוֹ: “builder’s measuring-line” (on Za 1.16).

קוֹל: “great noise” of the sea and river (on Hb 3.10); + /nātan/ “to create noise,” cf. Jl 4.16 and Am 1.2 (on Jl 2.11); of bird (on Ze 2.14); of admonition (on Ze 3.2).

קוּם Qal: “to rise from the dead” (on Hb 2.7). 2. intr. “to withstand” (on Am 7.2).

קוּץ Hif.: intr. “to wake up from sleep,” and 1Sm 26.12 /w’ēn rō’ē w’ēn yōdēa’ w’ēn mēqīš ki kullām yšēnim ki tardēmat yhwh nāflā ‘ālēhem/ and 2Kg 4.31 /lō’ hēqīš hannā’ar/ (on Jl 1.5; Hb 2.19).

קָטַב: “destruction, extermination” <cf. IE and Ps 91.6> (on Ho 13.14).

קָטַל: “slaughtering” (on Ob 9).

קָטַן: of small size of population and territory (on Ob 2); /qṭannōt/, with /nhāmōt/ or /yšu’ōt/ to be supplied, as in Gn 42.7 /waydabbēr ‘ittām qāšōt/ for /... millōt qāšōt/ (on Za 4.10).

קֶטֶר Pu.: /muqtār/, a passive participle, or a noun meaning “incense” (on Ma 1.11).

קִינָה related to /qōnēn/ (on Am 5.1).

קִיץ: “summer fruits” as in Is 16.9 /‘al qēšēḥ w’al qširēḥ/ (on Am 8.1).

קִיקְלוֹן: single word with doubled first radical as in /bāvat ‘ēnō/, or possibly compound with Alef missing as in Pr 26.11 /kḥēlev šān ‘al qē’ō/ (on Hb 2.16).

קָל: applied to horse as in Is 30.16 /‘al sus nānus ... ‘al qal nirkāv/ (on Am 2.15).

קִלְחַת like /sir/ or /šallaḥat/ “pot” (on Mi 3.3).

קלט Hith.: cf. Ps 44.14, 79.4 /la'ag wāqeles/, and Ez 16.31 /lqallēs 'etnān (cf. Hb 1.10).

קנא Pi.: + /l-/ in sensu bono, “for the sake of, for the good of” as in Nu 11.29 /hamqannē' attā li/, Jl 2.18 /wayqannē' yhwh l'aršō/ (on Za 8.2); + /b-/ in sensu malo as in Gn 37.11 /wayqan'u vō 'ehāv/ (on Za 1.14) + /l/ + pers., “out of concern for” (/ba'āvur/), and cf. Jdg 9.54 /pen yō'mru li/ (on Jl 2.18).

קנאה: cf. Ex 20.5 et passim /'ēl qannā' (on Ze 3.8).

קנה Hi.: “to bequeath” (on Za 13.5). < So Men. 330.>

קנוא: cf. Jl 2.18 /wayqannē' yhwh l'aršō/; adj. like /qannā' (on Na 1.2).

קסם Qal: the root in Arabic means “to divide, cut up,” and thus Dt 18.10 /qosem qsamim/ is a general term for artisans (?) (on Mi 3.11).

קפא Qal: “to be untroubled and quiet, rest in confidence,” cf. Ex 15.8 /qāf'u thōmōt blev yām/ and /qippā'ōn/ “that which is stagnant and congealed” (on Ze 1.12).

קפאן: “something thick” (on Za 14.6).

קפוד: *qypd* in Arb. < = *qunfud* “hedgehog”?. So R. Jonah, s.v. > (on Ze 2.14).

קץ: “appointed time, season” < not “the end” *pace* Simon ad Am 8.3 > (on Am 8.2).

קצב: /qīšvē hārīm/ “where mountains split,” cf. 2Kg 6.6 /wayyiqšov 'ēs/ (on Jn 2.7).

קצה Qal. cf. Dt. 25.12 /wqaṣṣōtā 'et kappāh/ and Pr 26.6 /mqaṣṣe raglayim/ (on Hb 2.10).

קצהף: a thing which lacks substance; cf. Jl 1.7 /ut'ēnāti liqṣāfā/ (on Ho 10.7 and Jl 1.7).

קצפה: something that has no substance as in Ho 10.7 /kqēsef 'al pnē māyim/ (on Jl 1.7).

קרא Qal: “to pronounce a verdict of” (on Hg 1.11).

קרב Hi.: < to bring an offering > to the altar (on Hg 2.14).

קרב: /bqerev/ = /btōh/ “amidst” (on Jl 2.27); “openly, in public” (on Am 7.10, < cf. Radak ad loc. >).

קרוב: of a day in the near future when sth is going to happen (on Ob 15).

קרה Qal: /qorhi/, morphologically comparable to /molhi/ (f.sg. impv. in Jdg 9.10,12) (on Mi 1.16).

קרן: sth to gore with (on Am 6.13).

קֶרֶן /pe'a/ "corner" (on Za 2.1); /nāšā' qeren/, of enemies (on Za 2.4).

קָרָן cf. Ex 34.35 /qāran 'ōr pnē mōše/ (on Hb 3.4).

קָרַע Qal: + /lēv/ or /lēvāv/ = /māl 'orlātō/ "to cut one's foreskin" and cf. Dt 10.16 /umaltem 'et 'orlat lvavhem/ and Ho 13.8 /w'eqrā sgōr libbām/, i.e. in order to remove a veil on the mind, which prevents right understanding and cf. Pr 13.16 /kol 'ārum ya'āše vdā'at/ <for the relevance of this last quote, see Lipshitz ad loc., n. 37> (on Jl 2.13).

קָשַׁשׁ Qal: "to admonish"; R. Moses — "to gather, collect," cf. Ex 5.12 /lqōšēš qaš/, "to gather stubble," but acc. to others, = "to become old in age" as in Trg (on Ze 2.1).

Hithpo.: "to admonish one another" (on Ze 2.1).

קֶשֶׁת: "rainbow" (on Hb 3.9).

רָאָה Qal: <"to see"> in a vision (on Za 2.1,5); in prophetic visions (on Am 8.2, 9.1; Za 9.8). 2. /b-/ understood as in Nu 11.15 /w'al 'er'e brā'āti/ (on Hb 1.13). On the text of IE's commentary here, see *Leš.* 34.234.

Hi.: <"to show"> through a nocturnal vision (on Za 3.1).

רָאָה: "filthy sight" like Ze 3.1 /hōy mōr'ā/ and Lv 1.16 /whēsir 'et mur'ātō/ (on Na 3.6). <So Men. 342.>

רָאָה: "trees on a mountain-top" (on Am 1.2); applied to king (on Mi 3.11).

רָאָה: may be spelled רָאָה: sth not sweet (on Am 6.12).

רָאָה: /hōdeš/ understood (on Jl 2.23). <So Rashi.>

רֶב: /gadol/, "chief" (on Jn 1.6).

רֶב: /rōv yāmim/ "longevity" (on Za 8.4).

רָבָב Qal: "to increase, multiply" (on Ho 4.7).

רָגַע Qal: "to shake, tremble," cf. Jl 4.16, Am 1.2 /mišyiyōn yiš'āg umirušālayim yittēn qōlō/ (on Jl 2.10); causes <a building> to collapse (on Hb 3.7).

רָגַל: /tirgēl/, the initial Taw for Heh with no other analogous example; "to train to walk" (on Ho 11.3). <= Ra>

רָדַד: /rād/, of the same pattern as /tām/ in Gn 47.18 /ki 'im tam hakkesešef/ <!> (on Ho 12.1).

רָדַד Pi.: The theory of iterative and continuative force of Piel

founders on pairs such as Ze 1.9 /haddōvēr bi/ and 2Sm 23.2 /ruah yhw̄h dibber bi/, or Ex 34.11 /hinəni gōrēš mippāneḥā/ vs. Ex 23.29,30 /lō' ʾāgāršennu/ and Gn 3.24 /waygāreš ʾet hāʾādām/ (on Ho 2.9). <Cf. Friedlaender, *Essays*, p. 167.>

רוח: of the spirit of prophecy (on Hg 2.5). 2. /rāʾā ruah/ as in Job 16.3 /hāqēš ldivrē ruah/ (on Ho 12.2). 3. = /qāṣe/ “corner” in /ʾarbaʿ ruḥōt haššamayim/ (on Za 6.5).

רום: opp. /thōm/, cf. Dt 32.40 /ki ʾeśšāʾ ʾel šamayim yādi/ (on Hb 3.10).

רומה: “erect, with a straight back” (on Mi 2.3).

רוה Qal: /raza/, pf., and cf. Is 17.4 /mišman bšārō yērāze/ and 24.16 /rāzi li/ (on Ze 2.11).

רוון = /ḥaser/ “wanting” (on Mi 6.10).

רחם: used abnormally in the sg., “mercy” (<so Men. 351>); *pace* R. Moses, not impv. (on Hb 3.2).

רחמים: related to /reḥem/ (on Am 1.11).

ריב: “judgment” (on Am 7.4) <so Men. 178>.

ריב Qal: an object is understood (on Ho 4.4); /ʾim/ in /riv lyhw̄h ʾim yhudā/ indicates a person with whom one disputes, and not that Judah and the Lord take someone on jointly, as is shown by examples such as Gn 26.20 /wayyārivu rōʾē grār ʾim rōʾē yiṣḥāq/, Ex 17.2 /wayyārev hāʾām ʾim mōše/ and many others (on Ho 12.3).

ריח Hi.: obj. /rēaḥ/ understood (on Am 5.21).

ריק Hi.: “to produce nothing” (on Hb 1.17).

ריק “meaningless” (on Hb 2.13).

רכל Qal: ptc. “peddler,” cf. Le 19.16 /lōʾ tēlēḥ rāḥil/ (on Na 3.16).

רקמה: sth to do with slandering, cf. /mizzaʾam lšōnām/ later in the verse (on Ho 7.16).

רָקִיס: “fragment smaller than /bāqiaʾ/, cf. R. Moshe ha-Kohen, Ct 5.2 /rsise hallaylā/ “fine raindrops” (on Am 6.11) <Cf. Ra. ad loc. and Saadia, *Sabʾin*, s.v.>

רע: adj. used substantively, “evil person,” opp. /ṭōv/ (on Am 5.15); /yōm raʾ/ = /yom purʾanut/ “day of punishment” (on Am 6.3); antonym of /ṭōv/ (on Mi 1.12); f.sg w. ref. to the suffering caused by the intense heat of a scorching sun (on Jn 4.6).

רע: as cogn. obj. of /hēriaʾ/, “shouting and weeping,” cf. Ex 32.17f. /wayyišmaʾ yḥōšuaʾ ʾet qōl hāʾām brēʾō ... ʾēn qōl ʾānōt gvuṛā wʾēn qōl ʾānōt ḥālušā .../ (on Mi 4.9).

רַעַע: “somebody else” (on Ho 3.1).

רַעַל Ho.: “to reel, quiver”; acc. to Jepheth, w. ref. to spears (on Na 2,4).

רַעַשׁ Qal.: fig., out of fear (on Jl 4.16).

Hi.: “to cause rambling and noise” or fig. (on Hg 2.7); fig. “to cause total chaos” (on Hg 2.21).

רַפַּא Qal. following /hikkā/ “to wound” (on Ho 14.5).

Hi.: opp. to harm (on Ma 3.20).

רַפֶּת: “a place where cattle are kept at night” (on Hb 3.17).

רַצַּה Qal: “to like” (on Ma 1.8).

רַצֵּץ Qal: + /mišpāt/ (obj.), = /rimma/ “to cheat” (on Ho 5.11); cf. 1Sm 12.3 /’et mi ‘āšaqtī ’et mi raššōti/, the latter verb of which is of a geminate root as in Ec 2.20 /sabbōti ‘āni/ and related to Is 42.3 /qāne rāšuṣ/ (on Am 4.1).

רַקַּב: related to /rāqav/ “to rot” (on Hb 3.16).

רַשַּׁע: opp. /’ānāw/ (Ze 1.3).

רַשָּׁעָה: “evil thought” (on Za 5.8).

רַשָּׁף: syn. with /dever/, cf. Dt 32.34 /ulḥumē rešef/ = /’āḥulē dever/ (on Hb 3.5).

רַשַּׁשׁ Pu.: cf. Pr 30.8 /rē’š wā’ōšer/ (on Ma 1.4). < Cf. Men. 346. >

רַתַּם Qal.: “to tie” (on Mi 1.13).

רַתַּק Pu.: cf. Ez 7.23 /’āšē hārattōq/ (on Na 3.10).

רַתַּת: < to tremble out of > fear; a hapax with a cognate in Aramaic (on Ho 13.1). < Men., 347: “shaking and writhing”. >

רַשָּׁאָה: cf. /nśi’ut/ “dignity” (on Hb 1.7).

רַשַּׁע Qal: + dir. obj. like /hāsēr/ and /mālē’/ (on Jl 2.19). < See also Lipshitz ad loc. > ; cf. Pr 30.16 /’ereš lō’ šāw’ā mmayim/ (on Am 4.8).

רַשָּׁעָה: a state resulting from much eating (on Hg 1.6).

רַשָּׁדָי: sg. noun as shown by Ps 96.12 /ya’ālōz šāday/ (on Ho 10.4); synonymous with רַשָּׁדָה (on Jl 2.22).

רַשֵּׁר Hi.: with Jepheth the /š/ can stand for /s/, and if so, a *double entendre* may be intended: “to appoint as prince” and “to depose a prince,” cf. Ho 9.12 /bšuri mēhem/ (on Ho 8.4); spelled with שׁ for ס (on Ho. 9.12).

רַשָּׁה: “will, desire” (on Am 4.13).

רַשַּׁשׁ applied to a Baal worshipper (on Ho 5.2).

רַשָּׁן: “enemy, adversary,” cf. Ezr 4.6 /kātuv šitnā/ (on Za 3.1).

שִׁיכָה: indicative of impoverishment and physical weakening (on Ho 7.9).

שִׂיד: burning a person's corpse into lime is an insult to him (on Am 2.1).

שִׂים Qal: /šām 'ēn-/ in order to see with an intent either friendly or hostile (on Am 9.4). 2. = /hišliṭ/ "to appoint to an office" (on Hb 1.12).

שָׂךְ Qal: cf. Nu 33.55 /šikkim/ and Job 1.10 /hālō' 'attā šaḥtā va'ādō/ (on Ho 2.8).

שָׂם: cf. Ps. 21.13 /tšitēmō šeḥem/ (on Ze 3.9). < So Men. 379.>

שָׂמָה: brought about by wine-drinking, cf. Jdg 9.13 (on Jl 1.16).

שָׂפָה: /šāfā brurā/, i.e. the Holy Tongue (on Ze 3.9).

שָׂרִיד: syn. with /plēṭā/ (on Jl 3.5).

שָׂרָק: a certain colour, cf. Gn 49.11 /šōrēqā/ (on Za 1.8). < So Men. 390.>

שָׂאג Qal: "to give out a thunderous noise," cf. Ps 77.19 /qōl ra'mḥā baggalgal/ and 2Kg 7.6 /wa'dōnāy hišmia' 'et maḥānē 'ārām/ (on Jl 4.16), to be followed by a famine and drought or "a loud divine pronouncement like a roar of a lion" (on Am 1.2).

שָׂאוֹל: "lower region, underworld," cf. Job 26.6 /'ārōm š'ōl negdō/ (on Am 9.2); opp. to /šāmayim/, which is high up (on Jn 2.3).

שָׂאף Qal: cf. Ps 56.2 /š'āfani 'ēnōš/ and Jer 2.24 /šā'āfā ruah/ (on Am 8.4).

שָׂאָר: "body" (of Baal), as in Is 10.21 /š'ār ya'āqōv/ (on Ze 1.4).

שָׂבָא: "a person from the kingdom of Sheba" (on Jl 4.8).

שָׂבָבִים: like Job 18.5 /šviv/, and *pace* Jepheth, not = /šōvāv/ (on Ho 8.6).

שָׂבוּעָה: related to /nišba' / "to swear" (on Hb 3.9).

שָׂבוּת: cf. Ez. 16.53 /ušvut švitayih btōḥahnā (on Ze 3.20).

שָׂבַט: cf. Ez. 19.14 /maṭṭē 'ōz ševeṭ limšōl/ (on Am 1.5); cf. Gn 49.10 /lō' yāsur ševeṭ mihudā/ (on Am 1.8).

שָׂבִי: what is captured (on Am 4.10).

שָׂבָלָה: /šibbāle/, f. despite the ending like /pilagšim/ (on Za 4.12).

שָׂבַע Ni.: + /bnafšō/, cf. Gn 22.16 /bi nišba'ti/ (on Am 6.8).

שָׂבַע: possibly substitute for "many," and cf. Gn 26.33 /wayyiqrā' 'ōtāh šiv'ā/ (on Za 4.10).

שבר Hi.: = /maḥar/ “to sell (grain)” (on Am 8.6).

שבת Hi.: /lašbit/ for /lhašbit/ as in Is 23.11 /lašmid/ with the patach hinting at the elided Heh; “to destroy” (on Am 8.4).

שִׁבֶּת: forms with a possessive suf. suggest /šabbetet/ as the basic form (on Ho 2.13).

שָׁנִיחַ: instruction to musical director, cf. סֵלָה (on Hb 3.1). < Cf. Men. 360. >

שָׁגַל Ni.: euphemism < Qere שָׁכַב Qal > (on Za 14.2).

שָׁד: /šādayim šōmqim/ which do not produce milk (on Ho 9.14).

שֹׁד: “terrorising, frightening” (on Hb 2.17).

שָׁדַד: /nšaddunu/, Ni. of a geminate root (on Mi 2.4).

שָׁדִי: Samuel ha-Nagid correctly analysed it as adj. of the pattern as in /dawwāy/ in Jer 8.18 /‘ālay libbi dawwāy/, and it means “strong, overwhelming,” as in Ez 1.24 /kqōl mayim rabbim kqōl šadday/ and Job 22.25 /whāyā šadday bšārehā/ as /šadday/ here is parallel to /tō‘āfōt/ < which also means “strength,” cf. IE ad loc. >. Thus the word is not another name for the God of Israel. The root is שָׁדַד (on Jl 1.15).

שָׁדָמָה: as in Is 37.27 /ušdēmā lifnē qāmā/ (on Hb 3.17).

שָׁדָפוֹן: affects ears of corn, and cf. Gn 20.3,41.6 /šdufōt qādim/ (on Am 4.9; Hg 2.17); a natural disaster mentioned along with hail (on Hg 2.17).

שוב Qal: “to return” (tr. vb.) (on Na 2.3); either intr. or tr. as in Dt 30.3 /wšāw yhw̄h ... ‘et švuthā (ad Hg 1.6); as a sign of regret and repentance (on Jl 2.12). b. /šāw ‘appō/, antonym of /hārā ‘appō/ “he became incensed,” cf. Ho 8.5 (on Ho 14.5).

Hif.: הוֹשִׁיבוּתִים, mixed from הוֹשִׁיבִּים and הוֹשִׁבוּתִים like Ez 45.21 שְׁבוּעוֹת יָמִים compounded from שְׁבָעַת and שְׁבוּעָה (on Za 10.6).

Po.: “to return” (on Mi 2.4).

שוה Pi.: “to become equal, similar” or “to produce” (on Ho 10.1). < On the text of the comm., see Lipshitz. >

שוט: instrument to give blows accompanied by terrifying sounds (on Na 3.2).

שׁוּלָל: “one who has been stripped of his clothes,” or “one whose sanity is gone” as in Job 12.17 /mōliḥ yō‘āšim šōlāl/; of same pattern as /šōvāv/ (on Mi 1.8).

שׁוּעַ Pi.: w. ref. to prayer (on Jn 2.3).

שׁוֹפֵט: king functioning also as judge (on Am 2.3).

שׁוּק Hi.: cp. Ez 3.13 /maššiqōt/ (on Jl 2.24); “to tread” (on Jl 4.13).
שׁוּר Qal: “to keep a protective and caring eye on sbd” (on Ho 14.9).
שׁוֹשָׁן known for quick blossoming and its slender roots (on Ho 14.6).
שׁוּחַח Qal: “to become level” (on Hb 3.6).
שֶׁלֶחַן: “altar,” cf. Ez 41.22 /ze haššulḥān ’āšer lifne yhw/ (on Ma 1.7).

שׁוּחַר Pi.: “to seek <eagerly> as one seeks the morning light” (on Ho 5.15, cf. Ra).

שׁוּחַר: <“dawn”> which follows night (on Ho 10.15); when the sunlight is faint (on Ho 6.3); /’ālā haššaḥar/, following which the sunlight intensifies (on Gn 32.25,27 ad Ho 12.5). **b.** /kšaḥar/ “instantly” (on Jl 2.2).

שׁוּחַת Pi.: = /hera’/ “to do evil” (on Ho 9.9).

שֶׁטֶף: “sweeping wadi” (on Na 1.8).

שִׁיר: of songs sung by Levites (on Am 5.23). <Cf. Ra ad loc.>

שִׁית Qal: + /qāšir/ (obj.), as in Job 14.9 /w’āšā qāšir kmō nāṭa’/ (on Ho 6.11).

שָׁב Qal: = /yašav/ “to dwell, live” (on Ho 2.20).

שָׁכַל Qal.: to die young (ad Ho 9.14).

Pi.: resulting in not reaching adulthood (on Ho 9.12).

Hi.: /reḥem maškil/ in which foetuses die (on Ho 9.14).

שָׁכַל: “bereaved of cubs” acc. to some, or “murderous, killer,” i.e. verbal adj. with transitive force (on Ho 13.8). <So Ra.>

שָׁכַם: as in Ze 3.9 /l’ovdō šḥem ’eḥād/ “as one man” (on Ho 6.9 /šehmā/).

שָׁכַן: “inhabitants” (on Ho 10.5).

שָׁכַן Qal: “to remain quiet and static” (on Na 3.18).

שָׁכָרָה: of the same formation as /šov’ā/; a state resulting from much drinking (on Hg 1.6).

שְׁלוּחַ: “gift” (on Mi 1.14).

שָׁלוּם: “repaying, recompensing” (on Ho 9.7).

שָׁלוּם: opp. rivalry, contention (on Za 6.13).

שָׁלַח Qal: obj. /ydē/ understood (<so Ra.>) as in Job 39.21 /yaḥpru bā’ēmeq/ where /raglāw is understood (on Ob 13).

Pi.: + acc. pers and 3 pers., <“to despatch”> with hostile intent (on Za 8.10); **b.** of divorcing a wife (on Ma 2.16).

Pu. “to be sent” (on Ob 1).

Hi.: cf. Ex 8.17 /mašliaḥ bhā/ (on Am 8.11).

שֶׁלַח: “a kind of weapon” as in Job 33.18 /mē’āvōr baššālāḥ/ and Ec 8.8 /w’ēn mišlāḥat bammilḥāmā/ (on Jl 2.8).

שֶׁלַח Hi.: cf. Gn 21.15 /wattašleḥ ’et hayyeled/ (on Am 4.3) and Ps 107.42 /wḥol ’awlā qāfšā pihā/ (on Za 5.8).

שָׁלַם Pi.: /nšallmā fārim šfātēnu/ elliptically for /nšallmā šillum pārim/ as in Ps 3.8 /hikkitā ’et kol ’ōyvay leḥi/ for /... makkat leḥi/ or supply the preposition Kaf before /fārim/ (on Ho 14.3).

שָׁלַם = /lihyot bšalom/ “to be enjoying peace and well-being” (on Na 1.12); “peaceful” (on Am 1.6).

שָׁלַם sg. of /šlāmim/ (on Am 5.22).

שֶׁם /šēm yhwḥ/ = /šēm šamayim, hašem haniḥbad/ (on An 6.10).

שָׁמַד Hi.: /hiḥḥid/ “to annihilate” (on Am 2.9).

שָׁמָה: “desolation, absence of inhabitants” (on Za 7.14 ad ib 8.5).

שָׁמַד: an object <so hard> that even iron cannot make engravings on it (on Za 7.12).

שָׁמַם Ni.: opp. “to be inhabited” (on Za 7.14).

שָׁמֶן presented as a tribute, gift to a king (on Ho 12.2).

שָׁמַע Qal: “to listen” as in Jos 24.27 /ki hi’ šām’ā/ (on Mi 6.2); + /šema’/ = /hodia’/ “to be told” (on Hb 3.2).

שָׁמַר Pi.: tr. (on Jn 2.9).

שָׁמַר Qal: “to watch, tend (sheep),” used absolutely (on Ho 12.13).
< = Ra > Obj. “His way” or “His law” understood as obj. (on Ho 4.10).

שָׁנָה Qal: intr. “to change,” cf. Est 3.8 /šōnōt mikkol ’ām/ (on Ma 3.6).

שְׁנִי f. /šēnit/ for /pa’am šēnit/ “for a second time” (on Jn 3.1).

שְׁנִית < “for a second time” > (on Hg 2.20).

שָׁעַר /bašša’ar/ “openly” (on Am 5.12).

שָׁעֲרוּרָה: “reprenensible thing”; cf. Jer 29.17 /katt’ēnim haššō’ārim/ (on Ho 6.10).

שָׁפַךְ Qal: = /horid/ “to bring down (rain)” (on Am 9.6).

שָׁקַד Qal: “to be diligent, attentive (in doing sth)” (on Jer 1.12 and Am 8.2).

שָׁקָה Hi.: “to force to drink” (on Am 2.12).

שָׁקִיצִי pl. “unclean things” consumed by pagans or a reference to idolatry in general (on Za 9.7); defiling or defiled object (on Ho 9.10).

שָׁקָל = /’even/ “a stone as a weight for measuring” (on Am 8.5).

שָׁקְמָה: fruit resembling fig, and in Arabic *jummayṣ* < “sycamore” > and *sawqam* (on Am 7.14 ad ib. 7.15).

שָׁקַע Ni.: = /ṭavaʿ/ “to sink,” cf. Ps 136.6 /lṛōqaʿ hāʾāreṣ ʿal hammāyim (on Am 8.8 Qre).

שָׁקָה Qal: related to /šōq/ “leg” (on Jl 2.9). < Cf. Radaq ad loc. and Men., p. 367. >

שָׁחַק Qal: w. “sea” as subj., cf. Ps 107.30 /wayyīsmḥu ḥi yištōqu/ (on Jn 1.11).

תָּאב Pi.: “to desire, yearn” < See IE on Ps 119.20,40,174. > (on Am 6.8) < So also Men., 20, 396. >, or alternatively = **תַּעַב** “to loathe” (on Am 6.8B). < See Simon ad loc. >

[תְּבוּנָה] = /tvunā/ “understanding” with a morphological alternation as in Ps 49.15 /šurām lvallōt šʾōl/ for /šurātām .../ (on Ho 13.2).

תִּתְּהַלֵּה /šibbaḥ/ “praising” (on Hb 3.3).

תִּוְרָה /ḥōq/ (on Ho 8.12); taught by priests (on Am 2.4); = /mišpat/ “justice” (on Ze 3.4).

תִּוְשָׁה /ʾiš/ understood as in Ps 109.4 /waʾāni tfillā/ (on Mi 6.9).

תִּמְחַת /bimqom/ “where a given object is situated” (on Hb 3.7, 16); /taḥtāw/ “where he is” (on Am 2.13); /mittaḥat/ “from its place,” “by itself” (on Za 6.12); “when he was in his place” (on Ob 7).

תִּמְצֵן: “south” (on Za 9.14); opp. /šāfōn/ (on Za 6.6).

תִּירוּשׁ: belonging to the same semantic field as /šiqquy/ (on Ho 2.11. ad Ho 2.7).

תִּכְנוּנָה: “possessions that one has accumulated” (on Na 2.10).

תִּלְאָה: **תִּלְאָה** **מִתְּלָאָה** for **תִּלְאָה** **מִתְּלָאָה**, cf. Ex 4.2 **מִתְּלָאָה** **בְּיַדְךָ** (on Ma 1.13).

תִּלְאוּבָה: /ʿereṣ talʾuvōt/, “dry, parched land” as in Arabic < /lāba/ > < so R. Jonah > (on Ho 13.5).

תִּלָּה: /tluʾim/, with Alef as in 2Sm 21.12Q /ʾāšer tlāʾum/; “hung in the air” (on Ho 11.7).

תִּלְמֵם: cf. Ps 65.11 /tlāmehā rawwē/ (on Ho 10.4).

תִּלְעַע Pu.: “clothed in scarlet robe” (on Na 2.4).

תִּמָּה Hith.: **תִּמְמָה**, Hith. from the root *t-m-h* with consonantal *h* (on Hb 1.5).

תִּמְרִיר: in pl., “openly” as in Jer 31.20 /šimi laḥ tamrurim/ and Dn 11.11 /wyitmarmar/ (on Ho 12.15).

תִּנָּה Hi.: related to /ʿetnan/ “gift (of lovers)” (on Ho 8.9).

תָּנוּר: m., hence the qualifier /bō^ʿērā/ with a penultimate accent like /laylā/ and Ps 124.4 /náḥlā ʿāvar ʿal nafšēnu/ (on Ho 7.4).

תַּעַה Hi.: obj. “him, them” understood (on Ho 4.12).

תַּפְאָרֶת: “a cause for boasting” (on Za 12.7).

תַּפֵּף Pol.: “to strike with hand as one strikes a timbrel” (on Na 2.8).

תַּקַּע Qal: + /šōfār/ (obj.) to make a public announcement (on Ho 5.8).

תְּרוּצָה: sounded by enemy (on Ze 1.16).

תַּרְבִּית: of same formation as /tarbit/ (on Ze 3.13).

תְּשׁוּאָה: /šāʾōn/ “noise” (on Za 4.7).

REVIEWS

Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, (avec la collaboration de B. Arzens, A. Caubet, J.-C. Courtois et M. Yon) *La Trouvaille épigraphique d'Ougarit. 1. Concordance* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit V) (Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations: Paris, 1989) ISSN 0291 1655 ISBN 2 86538 202 4. Pp. 457 + 53 drawings and photographs. Price: FF 225 (domestic); FF 213.27 (overseas).

Hidden behind the drab façade of seemingly endless tabulations lies something rather exciting: a wealth of material as yet unrevealed. None of the epigraphic finds of the 30th, 32nd, 33rd, 36th, 44th and 46th campaigns has been published (nor of the 48th, though of course that is as recent as 1988) and there is more awaiting publication. I began compiling a list of all the unpublished material for inclusion in this review but very soon realised there was too much. Those interested will need to consult TEO 1 under review here.

For each of the 48 campaigns there is a section which lists excavated sites where documents were found followed by a catalogue of those documents unearthed in that particular campaign. Most of these sections include a sketch map or plan of the area and selected photographs of inscribed finds. A typical entry in the catalogue is as follows: *tablet number* (by campaign): RS15.111; *origin*: Royal Palace, court 6 (central archives), locus ["point topographique"] 174, 1 metre [below the surface]; *description*: alphabetic, size 89[cm] × 66 × 29; *museum number*: DO[= "Damas oriental"] 3981; *editio princeps*: PRU 2:9; *collection*: KTU 3.2 = UT 1009; *comments*: Photo PRU 2, plate VI.

There are a few mistakes: Figure 34 a, p. 281: RS 21.056 shows reverse only; p. 283, for *Figure 34* read *Figure 36*; p. 327 for *Figure 42* read *Figure 43*. Insert the following captions: "*Figure 34*" at RS 21.001 (p. 276, top); "*Figure 34*" at RS 21.005 A (ibid. bottom); "*Figure 50*" at RS 86.2235 (p. 359); "*Figure 53*" at RS [Varia 24] (p. 381).

Towards the beginning of the book (p. 12) a list of campaign numbers (1-48) is given with the corresponding years, the museums where the finds are stored (Aleppo and/or Paris, or Damascus) and the official inventory number (where applicable). At the end come several indexes which overlap and supplement Appendices 1-13 already compiled by J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit* (HSS 34; Atlanta 1989) pp. 285-350. The corresponding RS number is provided for the following categories: Museum numbers,

text editions (in AAAS, ACF, etc.) and the number references in UT and KTU. There are also two indexes of the "Points Topographiques," one "par Quartier et Locus," the other "par Ordre Numérique." Bibliographical abbreviations are listed at the end. As a final touch the various scripts found at Ras Shamra and its environs are depicted on the front cover.

The two authors spent several months in the museums of Syria (and in the Louvre) and have personally checked all the information provided; we are indebted to their painstaking labours. There is no need to stress that TEO 1 is indispensable to the serious scholar and at the very least should be available as a library reference work wherever Ugaritic is likely to be studied.

Wilfred G. E. WATSON

A. Caquot, J.-M. de Tarragon and J.-L. Cunchillos, *Textes ougaritiques*. Tome II: *Textes religieux, Rituels, correspondance* (Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient, 14). (Editions du Cerf: Paris, 1989). ISBN 2 204 029162 5 ISSN 0455 5831.

Volume 2 of "Textes ougaritiques" [*TOug* II] is a worthy sequel to volume 1, "Mythes et légendes" published in 1974. The format of both volumes remains the same: an introduction to each text, with bibliography; text in translation only, and an abundance of footnotes, some quite lengthy, where the original Ugaritic is often quoted. The present volume appeared at the same time as several other significant studies on these tablets, in particular those by G. Del Olmo Lete on individual ritual texts (see below and note his more general article "Anatomía cultural en Ugarit. Ofrenda de vísceras en el culto ugarítico" *AnOr* 7 [1989] 123-125) and D. Pardee's edition of the Ugaritic texts of Ugaritica V, *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24e Campagne* (1961) (Paris 1988) [here abbreviated to *LTPM*]. These studies could not be used in *TOug* II, of course, and comparison is therefore instructive. The only other translation of the rituals is P. Xella, *I testi rituali di Ugarit I* (Rome 1981 [= *TRU* 1]).

TOug II is in two parts: the religious texts and rituals (translated by Caquot and de Tarragon respectively) and the letters (translated by Cunchillos). The result is two separate sets of indices which is often inconvenient but has the advantage of showing up the differences between the two main classes of text. (Note: As in the work under review, here the reference system of KTU will be used and to avoid confusion comments made here will be in the same order as KTU. "RIH" denotes texts found at Ras Ibn Hani). In part one the texts have been grouped as "mythological frag-

ments" (1.13; 1.83; 1.92; 1.93; 1.96; 1.101), "mythico-magical tablets" (1.82; 1.100; 1.107; 1.114; RIH 78/20); "vestiges du rituel et du mythe des Mânes" (1.108; 1.124; 1.161) and about thirty rituals. Of the 85 or so extant letters, 17 are presented in part II.

Part I: RELIGIOUS TEXTS AND RITUALS — As de T. points out in his introduction, the ritual texts unearthed in 1929 were eclipsed in importance by the subsequent finds of the myths and epics. The only complete translation did not appear until 1981 (TRU 1). In the selection of ritual texts presented here only the king actively engages in worship, with neither priest nor other officiant. The combination of formulaic expressions and meagre description in these rituals suggests they were little more than aides-mémoire. Fortunately, there are two or more copies (or versions) of several of the rituals. On 1.39, 1.106, 1.108, 1.113 and 1.161 see Del Olmo Lete, "Los nombres 'divinos' de los reyes de Ugarit," *AuOr* 5 (1987) 39-69.

1.40 (pp. 140-149; // 1.84, pp. 150f.) — Del Olmo Lete "El sacrificio de expiación nacional en Ugarit (KTU 1.40 y par.)," *La paraula al servei dels homes. XXV Jornades de biblistes catalans (1963-1985)* (Associació bíblica de Catalunya 1989) 46-56. As is generally recognised, interpretation of the ritual depends on the meaning of a few key words. While de Tarragon and Del Olmo Lete are in agreement over the etymology of the recurrent key word *npy* (Akk. *nepû*), the French scholar prefers "gage" (144, n. 29), the Spaniard, "expiación" (loc. cit. 54, n. 21). The second meaning suits the context better. Against common opinion Del Olmo Lete rejects the meaning "song" for *mšr* (line 9), arguing instead for "justice." The cluster *ulp* (repeated several times) does not mean "chief" but "in the manner of" (= *u* + *l* + *p*) as already suggested by Caquot in 1962 and accepted by Del Olmo Lete. It is corroborated by Akk. *ana pî*, "Gemäß" (*AHW*, 874a).

1.41 (pp. 152-159; // 1.87, pp. 159f.): cf. Del Olmo Lete "Liturgia ugarítica del primer mes (KTU 1.41 // 1.87)," *AuOr* 5 (1987) 257-270. 1.46 (pp. 164-166): cf. Del Olmo Lete, "Rituales sacrificiales de plenilunio y novilunio (KTU 1.109/1.46)," *AuOr* 7 (1989) 181-188. One of the principal differences between these studies and *TOug* II is in 1.109:4-5 (1.46:11). Del Olmo Lete suggests *qqln alpm yrh*, "they fell two month-old bulls," is separate from the following *šrt*, thus eliminating the unintelligible *yrh šrt* for which *TOug* II proposes the rather forced rendering "le mois (à son) dixième." The restoration [*gdl*]t in line 9 (untranslated in *TOug* II, but cf. p. 165, n. 83) has been questioned by D. Freilich, "Is there an Ugaritic Deity Bbt?," *JSS* 31 (1986) 119-130. She suggests, instead, (pp. 126f.) [(y)nk]t. lbbtm. gdlit, "(he will) slaugh]ter a cow in the temple."

1.82 (pp. 61-70): As acknowledged by Caquot, both here and in *SEL* 5 (1988) 31-43, J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk (in *UF* 16 [1984] 237-250) were

the first to recognize this document as a magical text, or rather, a collection of magical formulae separated by ruled lines. Much can be understood although several words of unknown meaning and gaps in the text make a foolproof translation impossible.

1.91 (pp. 174-177): to the extensive note on *gb* (p. 176 n. 110) add C. Polselli, *RSO* 56 (1982) 21-26 and P. Xella, *RSF* 12 (1984) 23, n. 19. **1.92** (pp. 31-36): also B. Margalit, "KTU 1.92 (Obv.): A Ugaritic Theophagy," *AuOr* 7 (1989) 67-80.

1.100 (pp. 79-94): Several differences between Pardee's interpretation (*LTPM*) and *TOug* II can be noted. Whereas Pardee renders *ql* (line 2) as "un message," *TOug* II translates "ma voix" (see p.82, n. 251) which is preferable. On the other hand, Pardee's "des deux fleuves" for *nbrm* (line 3 || *thmtm*) is probably correct (*TOug* II's "des fleuves" does not reflect the dual). In line 62 the cluster *bnwth* is analysed as *b* + *nwt* + *b*: "(mais elle perd sa fille dans le domaine de celui-ci." In a lengthy note (p. 90, n. 277) the commonly accepted meaning — "her children" (*bnwt* + *b*) — is shown to be incorrect since the element of progeny is already included in the verb *tkl* ("to be deprived of children"). Another cognate to *šht* (line 65) besides Heb *śah*, "bush," is Akk. *šahātu* which denotes an evil-smelling plant (*CAD* Š/1, 84a) a meaning well suited to the context. On *itnn* (line 74) see now W. von Soden, *UF* 20 (1988) 309-311. **1.101** (pp. 45-50): on the whole, remarkable agreement with Pardee.

1.104 (pp. 178-180): Del Olmo Lete "Posible ritual ugarítico de 'consulta' cultica (KTU 1.104)," *AuOr* 6 (1988) 99-101. He considers the text to be a consultation of the gods in view of the first word *iršt*. However, the meaning of Ug. *rš* is "to desire, wish for," like Akk. *erēšu*. Accordingly, "réquisitions" is preferable, although the meaning "prayer" cannot be excluded. The term *npš* (line 16) has been fully discussed by S. Ribichini-P. Xella, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Rome 1985) 54f. They suggest it means "equipment" and "vestments," but M. Baldacci, *BO* 46 (1989) 120 considers the available evidence too meagre for such a proposal.

1.105 (pp. 181-184): Del Olmo Lete "Un ritual funerario de Ugarit (KTU 1.105)" *AuOr* 6 (1988) 189-194. On *hršb* (discussed p. 183, n. 128) see my comments in *SEL* 6 (1989) 48-49, and on *hmn* (p. 186, n. 135) cf. H. J. W. Drijvers, "Aramaic *hmn* and Hebrew *hmn*: Their Meaning and Root," *JSS* 33 (1988) 165-179, and Del Olmo Lete, "La 'capilla' o 'templete' (*hmn*) del culto ugarítico," *AuOr* 2 (1984) 277-280. **1.106** (pp. 185-187): according to Del Olmo Lete "Liturgia funeraria de los reyes de Ugarit (KTU 1.106)" *SEL* 3 (1986) 55-70, the opening words were accidentally omitted by the scribe, but de Tarragon (following A. Herdner) considers *l*.

ršp. hgb. (line 1) to be the title. On *hgb*, "doorkeeper, guardian," see S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *RSF* 15 (1987) 10 n. 22.

1.107 (pp. 95-100) — See B. A. Levine - J. M. de Tarragon, "«<Shapshu Cries out in Heaven>»: Dealing with Snake-Bites at Ugarit (KTU 1.100; 1.107)," *RB* 95 (1988) 481-518. **1.108** (pp. 111-118): '*nt kpt*', "la dame à la huppe" or "Anatu de la coiffure-*kpt*" (Pardee, *LTPM*, 103f. with full discussion); the second word may correspond to Akk. *kib/pšu*, a kind of bird (*CAD* K, 340a; *AHW*, 472b) but the spelling TÚG.MEŠ *kubšu* (PRU 6, 99) suggests some type of clothing.

1.109 (pp. 188-191): see under 1.46. Obscure *qšrt* in line 30 has been explained by Xella (*TRU* 1, 54) as a form of *qtr(t)*, "censer" or the like — a view accepted by most scholars. However, D. Freilich - D. Pardee, "«<» and «<t>» in Ugaritic: A Re-examination of the Sign-forms," *Syria* 61 (1984) 25-36 have shown that "«<z>» is not found in any Ugaritic words where etymologically «<t>» would be expected outside of the two examples in *KTU* 1.24" (p. 35), although *qšrt* is not discussed by them. The (North Syrian? or West Semitic?) word *qasirtu* (*CAD* Q, 146b) might explain the Ug. word, but unfortunately its meaning is unknown and it is not listed in *AHW*.

1.111 (pp. 194-196) is in Hurrian (written alphabetically) interspersed with Ugaritic words. The Hurrian term *atblm* (also *ašblm*) actually means "sacrifice," not a type of sacrifice (cf. G. Wilhelm, *ZA* 66 [1976] 106 n. 13). **1.112**: Del Olmo Lete, "Ritual regio ugarítico de evocación /adivinación (KTU 1.112)," *AuOr* 2 (1984) 197-205. **1.114** (pp. 71-78): add K. J. Cathcart - W. G. E. Watson, "Weathering a Wake: A Cure for a Carousal. A Revised Translation of Ugaritica V Text 1," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* [Dublin] 4 (1980) 35-58. Apart from a few obscure words the translation and meaning of this burlesque have now virtually been established. For the term *nšb*, "haunch" (line 10), see K. J. Cathcart, "Ugaritic *NŠB* and Punic *ŠLB*," *AuOr* 5 (1987) 11-15.

1.115 (pp. 200-202): on this text note Del Olmo Lete, "Typologie et syntaxe des rituels ugaritiques" in A.-M. Blondeau - K. Schipper, (ed.) *Essais sur le rituel I* (Louvain-Paris, 1988) 41-63, esp. 54-61. and especially Freilich, *JSS* 31 (1986) 128f. **1.119** (pp. 206-211): Del Olmo Lete, "Liturgia sacrificial y salmodia en Ugarit (KTU 1.119)," *AuOr* 7 (1989) 27-35. The unique month name *ib'lt* mentioned in the text is unexplained but it may mean "Where is the lady?" (so Del Olmo Lete, loc. cit.); Xella, *TRU* 1, 27f. connects it with Phoen. *yrh p'lt*. In line 23 *tdn* is explained by the Arab. cognate *danâ*, "to approach" whereas Del Olmo Lete prefers *d(y)n*, "to decree, proclaim"; either is possible. **1.127** (pp. 212-215) inscribed on a clay model of an animal's lung, was found in the priest's house. For the

combination of vow and sacrifice (lines 2-3) cf. Jonah 1:16. **1.148** (pp. 224-228): Del Olmo Lete, "El sacrificio de Šapanu y otros sacrificios de Ugarit (KTU 1.148)," *AuOr* 6 (1988) 11-17.

Part II: THE LETTERS — In his introduction (pp. 241-267) Cunchillos describes the general pattern of these letters and comments on the previously unnoticed distinction between greetings and wishes ("vœux") which come at the end of the letter. His observations now need to be corrected and completed by S. A. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World* (HSM 45; Scholars Press, Atlanta 1988). For example, the messenger did not memorize the contents of the letter he was carrying (so Meier, loc. cit., 166f. contra *TOug* II 2, 241 n. 1). As for translations (on which cf. Meier, loc. cit., 163-165) C. notes that no Ugaritic letter found so far is a translation of an Akkadian letter; senders wrote in the language of the receiver or there were translators to hand who could interpret letters orally. If so, then 2.23, addressed either to Amenophis IV (so C.) or to a Hittite king, must be a draft or translation for use within Ugarit. For additional bibliography on the letters see my review of Cunchillos-Illarri, *Estudios de epistolografía ugarítica* (Valencia 1989) in *AuOr* 7 (1989) 282.

2.4 (pp. 271-274): from KTU 6.10 we can deduce that the name of high priest addressed in this letter is *brsn*, which may mean "Golden" or perhaps "Magpie" as proposed in my forthcoming study in *AuOr* 8 (1990). **2.23** (pp. 309-311): in addition to the Akk. parallel to *k rgm*, cited (p. 309, n.2) cf. the common Hebrew formula *kb 'mr* X (Gen 32:5, etc.).

2.34 (pp. 341-347): so obscure is the final section of this royal letter (lines 28-34) that an alternative translation is provided (pp. 346f.). The cluster *ldtk* "your containers" (plur. of **ld* + suffix) is explained with reference to Akk. *luttu/luttu* (346, n. 36) but according to *CAD* L, 257 that term denotes a small bowl and is a Sumerian loanword. A better comparison is with Neo-Assyrian *lattu*, "a container of standard capacity," *ibid.* 112b-13a. E. Verreet, *Modi ugaritici* (Leuven 1988) 53 circumvents the difficulty by emending to *š!dtk*, "your travel provisions."

2.38 (pp. 349-357): the expression *anyk. tt*, "the other half of the fleet" (line 24) provides the key to line 13 which also refers to "half (the fleet)." C. notes that the term *mtt* is cognate with Akk. *muttatu*, "half," and the accepted correction to *tmtt* (as in lines 16 and 22) is unnecessary; in any case the word *tmtt* means "crew." The gist of the letter, then, is that half of the ships sank in a storm but the rest reached port in Acre. If correct, as seems to be the case, C. has considerably advanced our understanding of this enigmatic document.

The Letter of Puduhepa, a composite of **2.36** + **2.73** + **2.37** + **2.74** is historically important but unfortunately incomplete. According to Cunchil-

los in his long introduction (pp. 363-386), Puduhepa was the wife of Hattusilis III and the king addressed in the letter (*nqmd*, line 2) was Niqmad(d)u III, c. 1260 B.C. Line 14: instead of "I reply to (or: repeat) the message which you sent to the royal house," *tn]nth. rgm. ky. likt. bt. mlk[]* may mean "I contest the message, etc." The verb *tnn* would correspond to Akk. *šanānu* which can mean "to defy" (*CAD* Š/1, 366ff.). However, the form *ky*, for *k(?)*, remains difficult. In line 15 the explanation proposed for *ušbm* (passive Shafel of **btt*, "to skirt") makes good sense but is very conjectural.

RIH 78/4 (pp. 234f.): the readings in lines 1 and 2 are uncertain but in both cases the word appears to be *dd*, "breast" (cf. Del Olmo Lete, *AuOr* 7 [1989] 123) not *gd*. In line 11 (also index, p. 441) *špqglm* is a misprint for *špqglm*, meaning uncertain. Other mistakes: p. 113 "Venhof" should be "Veenhof" and "orientalis" "Orientalis"; pp. 350 & 354, n. 17; p. 404, n. 183, etc.: read "millennium" (for "millenium"); p. 367, n. 20 and 386, n. 131: read "Güterbock"; p. 413 correct "latto" to "lato"; p. 462: for *tb'* read *tb'[r]*; p. 464: for *hyal/hyul* read *hyal/hyul*. Neither *athlm* nor *ašhlm* appears in the index.

Who will read this book? Ugaritic scholars, certainly, as well as those working on any aspect of ancient near Eastern studies. Biblical scholars, too, will learn a great deal from this work, but what about the interested non-specialist? For such readers, perhaps, there are too many long footnotes. In general, the layout of the translation is according to sense but in the rituals the translation is set out in lines as on the tablets which is less user-friendly. There can be no doubt, though, that *TOug II* is a reliable, up-to-date translation of the principal Ugaritic rituals, religious texts and letters, with informative introductions and well-documented footnotes. If at times the annotations are longer than the actual text, the reason lies in the laconic character and/or damaged condition of the originals, tingeing with mystery an already fascinating collection of ancient documents.

Wilfred G. E. WATSON

Bruce Chilton, *Profiles of a Rabbi: Synoptic Opportunities in Reading about Jesus* [Brown Judaic Studies 177] (Scholars Press: Atlanta, GA, 1989). Pp. x + 225.

Profiles of a Rabbi is an innovative book which rides on the wave of discontent concerning prevailing Synoptic studies. The book is in three parts with appendices setting out important texts, bibliography and indices. The first part (pp. 3-45) briefly sets out the attitude of the author and surveys approaches to the "Synoptic problem". Chilton's aim is to show

that there is no "Synoptic problem" (pp. 140, 168) but only the phenomenon of synopticity (p. 3), and no evangelists but only Gospels (pp. 4-5). His survey of Synoptic studies concentrates on the last century and features the work of J.C. Hawkins (*Horae Synopticae*, Oxford, 1909) and William Sanday's seminar, the most important product of which was B.H. Streeter's *The Four Gospels* (London, 1924). The aim of this survey is to show the implausibility of the two document (Mark and Q) hypothesis. W.R. Farmer's (*The Synoptic Problem*, Dillsboro, 1976) defence of the so called Griesbach hypothesis (priority of Matthew) is found to be no more persuasive. Chilton introduces discussion of the role of oral tradition through a discussion of the earlier work of Westcott, Bultmann, Boman, and Gerhardsson, which he considers to be defective in a variety of ways, especially in their omission or defective use of the Jewish sources. The relevance of early Judaism and Rabbinic Judaism is to be found (it is argued) in the phenomenon of synopticity.

The second section (pp. 49-135) consists of five comparative studies of the Gospels and Rabbinica. The principle of selection of Rabbinic material is not content (as in the work of Strack Billerbeck) but synopticity, parallel Rabbinic accounts where the Rabbinic parallels are internal, not with the Gospels. In parallel accounts Chilton argues (p. 75) that the Rabbinic sources show no more variation than the Synoptics. A recurrent complaint is that New Testament scholars are ignorant of the transmission processes manifest there in seeking to account for the Synoptic tradition. What he posits is the performance of Jesus leading to the Jesus of literary history who in the process of transmission is transformed and construed in the variety of ways to be found in the Gospels. He argues that similar patterns of performance, transformation and construal are to be found in Rabbinica. The five studies deal with 1.) Controversy: Jesus' teaching on divorce; 2.) Theophany: baptism and transfiguration; 3.) Logia with Haggadah: Beelzebul. In these studies the aim is to show that in a variety of Synoptic materials Rabbinica can provide similar cases of synopticity. Part three (pp. 139-182): Conclusions, not only draws the threads of the previous studies together, it develops new themes. The performance of Jesus is now expounded as the performance of the Kingdom (pp. 140-150) and speech concerning the kingdom of God is located within the language of early Judaism. Chilton asserts, "In his announcement and parabolic promulgation of the kingdom, Jesus is distinctive, but not unique, original, but not exotic." In general terms this might be helpful but it leans more to rhetoric than conceptual clarity. Further, in spite of the attempt to clarify the relation of these studies to the question of the historical Jesus (in study 3 of part two) it remains unclear how the performance of Jesus, which is the

basis of the transformations and construals in the tradition, is related to the historical Jesus (pp. 150, 168). In the first place (p. 150) it appears that performance does not relate to the historical but only the literary Jesus. But if it is said (p. 168) "in his performance of the kingdom, Jesus set in motion a dynamic of transformation and construal," this would seem to refer to the historical Jesus because there is not one literary historical Jesus but a multiplicity of such Jesuses (p. 162). Clearly the historical Jesus is implied from the literary historical Jesuses. Chilton argues that Jesus' performance of the kingdom is transformed and construed in the variety of ways to be found in the Gospels and that it was of the nature of the transmitted oral tradition of Rabbinica to be transformed and construed after this fashion (pp. 162-163). In the Gospels these transformations and construals are ascribed to Jesus. The end products, the Gospels, are then to be seen as watersheds in the process of transmission, transformation and construal. Chilton then argues that a logical fallacy has been perpetrated in the attribution of authors to the texts of the Gospels and the naming of them as evangelists (pp. 168-169). He argues that the myth of the author simply stands for the process of transmission, transformation and construal by means of which the Gospels were formed and that John is no more than the Synoptics a product of an individual author (pp. 168, 180). The attribution of authors to the Gospels is supposedly a result of ignorance of Rabbinica and modern middle class prejudice (pp. 168-169). The attempt to revive interest in theories of the oral transmission of Rabbinica in relation to the transmission of the Gospel tradition is commendable. But Chilton's own work is marred by an uncritical adoption of certain assumptions. Though he can only work with written Rabbinica he assumes that parallel traditions are a product of oral transmission without discussing whether one text might not be dependent on another. His assumption that oral transmission was totally pervasive in the Judaism of the period is not borne out by the Qumran community with its scriptorium and evidence of textual transmission. Nor does Chilton discuss the fact that the Gospels are written in Greek and it is reasonable to assume that the earliest Jesus tradition was in Aramaic/ Hebrew, yet the Synoptics not only reveal a common order of material but often an exact agreement of language. An appeal to a monolingual transmission which does not share the common order of tradition will not do as a precedent for this process. Nor can the caricature by means of which scholars of the last hundred years are blamed for attributing authors to the Gospels be taken seriously. "The ease with which scholars over the past hundred years have referred to 'the author' of a given Gospel, as if the personification of the process were an established fact, is startling." (p. 168) This assertion ignores the earliest evidence of the

attribution of authorship in the titles of the Gospels (*KATA MAPKON* etc.) and the traditions of the early church to be found in Papias and Irenaeus, amongst others. The early church did not doubt that the Gospels were the work of authors though modern scholarship has debated the balance of transmission and interpretation in the evangelists' work. The contemporary leaning to redaction critical interpretation reflects the acceptance of a strong interpretative role though this is seldom related simply to the individual author without taking account of the community for which the Gospel was writtten. Because of these flaws it is unlikely that this book wil change the direction of Synoptic studies, though it is a symptom of growing unease with what has until recently been perceived as a settled state of Synoptic studies with the acceptance of the two (or four) document hypothesis.

John PAINTER

Alan Mendelson, *Philo's Jewish Identity* [Brown Judaic Studies, 161] (Scholars Press: Atlanta, Georgia, 1988). Pp. xiv + 158.

This is a study in social psychology, a discipline which describes objective public identity (how others see us), subjective public identity (how we think others see us) and self-identity (how we see ourselves). The greater part of the work sets out Philo's self-identity, his inner and external worlds, faithfulness to customs and accommodation to environment.

Orthodoxy, for Philo, is defined by the creed at the end of *de officio mundi*, with the very valuable comment that 'Philo might have stated that the alpha and omega of orthodoxy was a belief in monotheism. The rest for him was commentary'(p. 49). His account of orthopraxy covered observance of circumcision, festivals, sacrifice, day of atonement, dietary laws and marriage.

Philo's apologetic defends sabbath, asceticism and philanthropy which includes non-Jews. He responds to criticism from Egyptians and Greeks with counter-criticism and 'underlying contempt for the customs of other peoples'(p. 138). The final conclusion is that 'Philo's sense of spiritual superiority may have helped to preserve the Alexandrian Jews' religious identity. But, as in other times and places, the Jews of Alexandria paid a heavy price for this sense of themselves'(p. 138).

The book is highly readable, very lucid and provides an attractive introduction to the study of Philo. It is valuable for two reasons. First, it casts grave doubts on the usefulness of the methods of social psychology for the study of history of ideas. It presents Philo's Judaism as amoral, for

orthodoxy and orthopraxy have no ethical content, as barabric, for the death penalty falls on apostates (p. 52), uncircumcising parents (p. 57) and prostitutes (p. 94), and finally as irrational, for mystics should practice their mysticism in the market-place (p. 6.) All this is unlikely to be true and the simplifications of social psychology must be challenged. Similar inaccuracy can be found in E.P. Sanders (ed.), *Jewish and Christian Self-definition*, where the cursing of Christians in synagogues is explained away, leaving no reason for the first substantial work on Jewish-Christian relations, namely Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. Second, it provides a valuable corrective to romanticism. Philo's Judaism has a stronger, harsher side which challenges our conceptual parochialism.

Most of the printing errors appear to be typing mistakes and stand as a warning to all who love their word-processor and electric typewriters: Diety (p. 7), andpōn (p. 15), hodo(p. 65), villian (p. 106), Tacticus (p. 109), inculcate(p. 115), distinctivenss (p. 132).

ERIC OSBORN

William L. Moran, *Les lettres d'el-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon* [Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient 13] (Les Éditions du Cerf: Paris, 1987). Pp. 630. Price: FF 290.

More than a century after their discovery and more than eighty years after their publication by J.A. Knudtzon the el-Amarna tablets are still one of the most prominent epigraphic finds made in the Near East. Still more surprising, despite hundreds of studies devoted to particular aspects of the texts, no attempt has been made to update the still fundamental work of Knudtzon. The book under review, however, comes rather close to this goal. It is a translation of all the 350 letters and lists of royal gifts found at el-Amarna, including the documents discovered after Knudtzon's edition. Other texts such as literary compositions and lexical tablets have been left out.

All the texts written in Akkadian have been translated by W.L. Moran. The Hurrian letter no. 24 has been translated by G. Wilhelm and the Hittite letters nos. 31 and 32 by V. Haas. Strangely enough this French translation of most of the Amarna corpus is itself, in its published form, a translation of the original manuscript. The text prepared in English by W.L. Moran has been adapted into French by D. Collon (for the main text) and H. Cazelles (for the foot-notes). The result is a quite readable book and accurate translation of the ancient documents.

The introduction (pp. 13-56) reviews successively the discovery and publication of the el-Amarna archive, its composition, linguistic aspects,

the typology of the letters and their chronology. This introduction is conceived as a *status quaestionis* rather than a fresh discussion of the problems involved, but, as it stands, it is a useful and welcome synthesis, even though it does not consider publications later than 1983.

The really new part of the book is the translation of the letters and, still more important, the accompanying notes. Every new reading, be it one of the author himself or of another scholar, is reproduced in the notes and, in this way, the work can be considered an updating of Knudtzon's edition.

Here follow a few reflections on some general problems that the reading of this translation called to my mind. The texts are referred to by the letters *EA* followed by their number in Knudtzon's edition.

Several documents refer to statues sent to foreign countries by the king of Egypt. Such is, for instance, *EA*, 14.II.11-14 that, according to Moran's translation, mentions statues of the king, the wife of the king (*i.e.* the queen?) and a king's daughter dispatched to Burnaburiash of Babylon. The translation is not completely sure, however. Knudtzon understood "statues for the king" etc. Moran prefers C. Kühne's interpretation¹ ("statue of the king" etc.) on the assumption that, anyhow, all the gifts were for the king of Babylon and that minor gifts for the royal family should have been mentioned elsewhere. This is also more accurate grammatically, the translation "of the king" being the one we naturally expect for *ša šarri*.

This text raises the problem of Egyptian statues, especially royal effigies, found outside Egypt.² It is quite clear in this case that they were sent as gifts, without any religious or political motivations. In other letters the sender himself asks for statues (usually in gold). In *EA*, 27.19-20, Tushratta of Mitanni asks³ for golden statues of himself and his daughter Tadu-Hepa (cf. the Hurrian letter of Tushratta *EA*, 24.76-107). In *EA*, 41.25-27, Suppiluliuma of Hatti asks for golden statues of unspecified subjects and two silver female statues.

Of a different nature is *EA*, 55.53-57, where Akizzi of Qatna remembers a statue of the Sun-God (translated without particular justification by the Hurrian name "Shimige") made by the forefathers of the king of Egypt and recently taken away by the king of Hatti. Akizzi wants gold to make a new statue. Here the religious intention is obvious but must not be seen as an

¹ *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna*, AOAT, 17, Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973, p. 69, n. 341.

² Cf. W. Helck, "Ägyptische Statuen im Ausland - ein chronologisches Problem," *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 101-115, and, for the Middle Kingdom only, G. Scandone Matthiae, "La statuaria regale egiziana del Medio Regno in Siria: Motivi di una presenza," *UF*, 16 (1984), pp. 181-188.

³ Again the translation follows C. Kühne, *op. cit.*, p. 38, n. 181.

attempt to back any political will of supremacy. The pharaoh's ancestors apparently just wanted to honour a local deity.

Another interesting point is the words used to designate the statues. Most often and not surprisingly, the word is ALAM/*šalmu*, but in *EA*, 14.II.13 and 14 the statues of the king's wife and king's daughter are designated by ^DKAL. ^DKAL is usually understood as Sumerian LAM(M)A, Akkadian *lamassu* (cf. *CAD* and *AHW*, *s.v.*), a protecting deity. A theory has been proposed by A. Spycket⁴ that found wide acceptance among archaeologists, according to which LAM(M)A is the proper name of a goddess often depicted on cylinder seals in the function of an interceding deity, intermediary between a god and his worshipper. Texts such as this one show that more caution is needed in interpreting the iconographic motif. LAM(M)A may refer to several different realities,⁵ including purely human figures.

A few chronological indications in round figures, sometimes taken literally, would deserve a study of their own. It is true that they do not stem from accurate chronological records, but they cannot be dismissed as fictitious and useless. They reflect a psychological or symbolic conception of time and should be studied in that perspective. For instance in *EA*, 59, the citizens of Tunip complain that they have been writing to the king for twenty years without ever receiving a reply (cf. lines 13 and 44). This figure of twenty years immediately calls to mind — as M. Liverani noted it in 1967 —⁶ such texts as the one where Hattusilis says that it took his grandfather Suppiluliuma twenty years to reconquer his kingdom or the prayers of Mursilis concerning a plague that lasted twenty years. However, we may assume that they mean something more than just a long span of time. It seems that forty years was considered, at least in some Near Eastern literary traditions, as a full generation, *i.e.* the active part of human life.⁷ Twenty years could therefore mean half a generation or, in historical terms, an important part of anyone's career. This is a genuine chronological indication because, although its real meaning depends on the actual duration of the period under consideration, that meaning can be deduced from the

⁴ A. Spycket, "La déesse Lama," *RA* 54 (1960), pp. 73-84.

⁵ Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago & London, 1964, pp. 199-201; W. von Soden, "Die Schutzgenien *lamassu* und *schedu* in der babylonisch-assyrischen Literatur," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 3 (1964) 148-156.

⁶ M. Liverani, "Ma nel settimo anno...", in *Studi sull'Oriente e la Bibbia*, Genoa, 1967, p. 51, n. 8.

⁷ See the recurrence of forty or multiples of forty to indicate a time span in the Bible (cf., *e.g.*, S. Kreuzer, "430 Jahre, 400 Jahre oder 4 Generationen: Zu den Zeitangaben über den Ägyptenaufenthalt der 'Israeliten'," *ZAW* 98 (1986), pp. 199-210).

duration of the period when it is known: it means much but not all of this period of time. It could be five years as well as fifteen depending on the circumstances. This is to some extent more precise than just saying "a long time".

Another form of the symbolism of numbers seems to be misunderstood by Moran in the famous passage of *EA*, 151 where Abi-Milki of Tyre refers to the destruction of the palace of Ugarit (lines 56-57). Moran understands: "The fire destroyed the palace of Ugarit; (or rather), it destroyed the half of it and thus its half has disappeared." Such a translation implies that only half of the palace was destroyed but the text, as it seems to me, is more likely to report on a complete destruction: É LUGAL ^{uru}Ú-ga-ri-it^{ki} i-qú-ul i-ša-tum mi-ši-i[l]-šu i-qúl ù mi-ši-⟨il⟩-šu ia-nu" "A fire burnt down the palace of the king of Ugarit; it burnt down its half and its (other) half does not exist." The *u* is probably not a waw of apodosis but the normal conjunction of coordination. One half of the palace was burnt down and the other half no longer exists.

These are only a few examples of the interest these texts still arouse and the questions they still prompt. Let's hope that the original English version of these translations will be made available in not too distant a future.

Guy BUNNENS

Michael E. Hardwick: *Josephus as an historical source in Patristic literature through Eusebius* [Brown Judaic Studies, 128] (Scholars Press: Atlanta, Georgia, 1989). Pp. xii + 137. ISBN 1-55540.

This brief study of the use of Josephus as a source for historical information and for historical ideas in patristic literature down to and including Eusebius bears all the marks of its dissertation origin. It is essentially a routine investigation, mechanical in its lay-out, plodding systematically through the second and third century Christian authors who allude to Josephus or Josephan themes. This procedure is quite acceptable as a dissertation research exercise but it does not necessarily make for an interesting or an arresting monograph. The result is much needless padding, with introductory pages devoted to each author (potted bio-data plus résumés of literary production) — and these are often authors who in the upshot produce but one incidental fragment: thus, for example, nine and a half pages are given over to Pseudo-Justin, who exhibits one passing allusion (and that not first-hand). There are far too many typographical errors in the Greek (a typical example on p. 41 n. 8 along with complete gobbledegook in line 7 of the same page) but such errors are not confined to the Greek (thus Apollinaris, Apollinarius and Apollinarus all occur within 7 lines [p.40]; cf. Hellanicus and Hellenicus on p. 45).

Indeed the authors treated down to Eusebius, who occupy the first 68 pages, could well have been judiciously reduced to half a dozen pages at most. And more of the strong doxographical tradition of this period should have been evoked for the penchant to cite literary authorities — with their allusions being often so indirect or suspiciously garbled that actual consultation of the authority cannot be proven: this would have avoided some needlessly heavy weather. But Hardwick is right to insist, in his best chapter on the monograph (pp. 69-102), that it is Eusebius who establishes Josephus within the Christian tradition, exploiting him to confirm (where convenient) the veracity of the New Testament, to provide an historical authority for the immediate post New Testament period, and to act as a model for historical themes, constructions and readings: the Christian appropriation of Josephus really begins with Eusebius.

The work concludes with a twenty-page summary which essentially repeats the conclusions already systematically placed at the end of each preceding chapter. This all makes a useful but limited study, sound as far as it goes but in reality there is material here for one solid article which has been needlessly eked out into a monograph of 137 pages.

G.W. CLARKE

Josette Elayi, *Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'empire perse* [Travaux et mémoires: Etudes anciennes, 2] (Presses universitaires de Nancy: Nancy, 1988). Pp. 224. Price: FF 160.

The encounter of Hellenism with the old Near Eastern civilizations is a major feature of ancient history. A proper understanding of the process of hellenization of all the Mediterranean basin and of regions as far east as the Indus valley is essential to our understanding of ancient history as a whole. It is to one aspect of this vast problem that the book under review is devoted: the Greek penetration into Phoenicia at the time of the Persian empire. As the author herself notes (p. 8), such an enterprise has never been undertaken on serious grounds. The Persian period is crucial, however, to the extent that it paradoxically paves the way for the massive penetration of Hellenism that will follow Alexander's conquests.

Three periods are defined (p. 15): "archaic" (539-479 B.C.) corresponding to the time of the Persian expansion to the West; "classical" (479-405) matching the time of the Athenian maritime supremacy; "prehellenistic" (405-333 B.C.) defined without further specification as the interval between the collapse of the Athenian thalassocracy and the conquest of Tyre by Alexander the Great.

All the available evidence, both written and archaeological, is dealt with

although most of the discussion is perforce devoted to archaeological problems.

The first three chapters analyse the evidence. Chapter I (pp. 20-38) reviews the geographical dispersion of Greek imports in Phoenicia. Many maps help to visualise their spatial distribution. In the second chapter (pp. 39-60) the author studies the problem of the diffusion of Greek coins in Phoenicia and their impact on the creation of Phoenician coinage. Surprisingly enough for a country that we may assume to have been deeply engaged in international trade, finds of Persian coins are rare in Phoenicia, and Greek coins seem to have been sought after essentially for the metal they were made of. Local coinage is of comparatively late date and, although its cause is not clear, its appearance in the various Phoenician cities seems to have been linked with periods of increasing imports and economic prosperity. The third chapter (pp. 61-105) gives an overview of the commercial relations between Greece and Phoenicia. The trade routes and the protection of the merchants, financial organization of trade, goods exchanged, Greeks in Phoenicia and Phoenicians in Greece, existence of possible "ports of trade" are the main themes of the chapter. The limitations of the evidence are rightly emphasized by the author who notes that perishables must have formed the bulk of the merchandise traded between the two areas (cf. p. 69).

The fourth chapter (pp. 106-158) is of a more synthetical nature. The author adopts an anthropological approach. It is no easy task as scholars, in the field of ancient history, are not very much used to such methodologies. The task is also difficult because of the limited nature of the evidence. Too many parameters are lacking. She therefore defines five criteria of her own (p. 109): 1. How were the contacts made? Was the borrowing ("emprunts") made spontaneously or was it imposed by one culture upon the other? The author observes that only the first possibility — spontaneous borrowing — applied to Phoenicia. 2. Were the concerned cultures homogeneous? It appears that many foreigners were living in both Greek and Phoenician cities and that, accordingly, the cultures under consideration were heterogeneous. 3. What sort of relationship did exist between these cultures: friendship or hostility, commercial competition? 4. Were the groups in contact isolated ones (e.g. Phoenician merchants in Greece?) or were the contacts of a global nature? The author reckons also that contacts may have been established through an intermediary group (e.g. Attic pottery purchased by Phoenicians from Cypriote merchants). 5. Where do we find evidence for contacts between Greeks and Phoenicians? On the Phoenician coast, inland, in a rural environment, in cities, in the North, in the South?

Dr. Elayi then proceeds to the study of pottery, terra-cotta, lamps as well

as jewels and seals. She reaches the conclusion that Greek influence on this type of material is superficial and follows the fashion of the time without affecting the customs and habits of the society itself. She makes a special case for sculpture, especially the famous architectural and anthropoid sarcophagi. Her study, one of the most detailed of the whole book, reviews the technical and artistic aspects of these monuments. She understands this new form of art as a "cultural change" ("changement culturel") affecting the taste and mentality of wealthy Phoenicians but not their religious beliefs.

The second part of Chapter 4 studies non-material influences such as the art of warfare, dressing and especially linguistic and religious interchange. Bilingual inscriptions were found in Cyprus and Greece only, a good indication that the Greek language had not yet permeated the Phoenician society itself. Some Phoenicians, however, adopted a Greek name beside their native Semitic name. This seems to be essentially true for Phoenicians travelling in Greece. Otherwise only two names from Phoenicia show traces of hellenization. The first is a Phoenician name carved in Greek letters on a lamp from Tel el-Hesi: Αρηεβαλ. The second name is that of king 'Abd'aštar of Sidon, also officially known as Strato. The latter example, although apparently an isolated one, is compared with other signs of "philhellenism" found among other Phoenician kings to show that hellenization reached Phoenicia through the upper strata of the political hierarchy. Concerning the first of these names, we must note that it was not found in Phoenicia *stricto sensu* but in southern Palestine and that it is engraved on an eminently mobile object — a lamp. It is therefore not excluded that it was originally used in a Greek environment before reaching Palestine. As for the name itself Dr Elayi notes that if its second part is clearly the divine name, Baal, its first component is hardly identifiable (p. 133). It is not impossible that we have here an early example of iotacism and that η was actually pronounced "i" so that we might have a name of the type 'ry + theophorous element such as, for instance, Ariel in Hebrew.

In the field of religion, Phoenician gods were assimilated to Greek ones. The most famous example is that of Milqart identified with Herakles. Such an identification is evidenced by Herodotus in the Persian period but could be older according to Dr Elayi. In the same way Astarte was identified with Aphrodite. This, however, was not a one-way process. One Phoenician god, the famous Adonis, was adopted by the Greeks. Religious interchange is a very important aspect of the hellenization of Phoenicia and the author is probably underestimating its significance when she retains art and economy as the main areas affected by Greek culture (pp. 145-146).

In a chapter of conclusions (pp. 159-167) the author sums up the essential

results of her study. Most of the signs of hellenization in Phoenicia come from coastal urban centres and are probably restricted to a social elite. Rural Phoenicia seems to have been much less affected. Trade with Greece might have been an incentive to adopting aspects of Greek culture. The most affected features of Phoenician culture are economy, with the adoption of coinage, and art. To these, as we just saw, we could add religion.

To finish off this review here follow a few general observations. The first one concerns an obstacle that everyone having dealt with Phoenicia has faced: what is Phoenicia? The notion expressed by this word is not specifically defined in the book. The author refers briefly, p. 9, to another publication of hers¹ where such a definition is provided. The essential criterion, according to this article, seems to be the designation of a particular site by an ancient author as "Phoenician". It would follow from there, although it is not specifically said, that any other site displaying similar features is also considered as "Phoenician". The problem with such an approach is that ancient authors do not make a consistent use of the words "Phoenicia" and "Phoenician". They can refer either to a region, whoever its inhabitants may have been, or to a people. Is al-Mina, near the mouth of the Orontes river, really a Phoenician site? I would rather consider the so-called central Phoenicia, i.e. Aradus, Byblos, Berytus, Sidon and Tyre, as Phoenicia proper and the areas to the north and south of it as peripheral or 'phoenicized'. This, however, is of secondary value to the book whose main concern is with the early hellenization of the coastal Mediterranean cities of the Persian empire.

A notable feature of Dr Elayi's work is its methodology. It is a historical study, almost entirely based on archaeological sources. The use made of these is very cautious and the author, perfectly aware of their limitations (cf. p. 165, n.1), turned to anthropology to complement them and put them in proper perspective. A computer-aided analysis of the material helped her in the elaboration of the information. The process is described on pp. 207-212. Fourteen parameters were codified, including the identification of the object, its characteristics, date and find spot. It was thus possible to draw the evolution curve of Greek imports into Phoenicia.

This is an innovative and stimulating study. Let us hope that more scholars will follow the path thus opened in order to resolve the many problems that are still outstanding.

Guy BUNNENS

¹ "Studies in Phoenician geography during the Persian empire," in *JNES*, 41 (1982), pp. 83-110.